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A Dozen Days On The Dragon Throne

Throne to Rule over the Resurrected Celestial Empire, and Nonchalantly Overturning the Republic. Only the Smoking Ruins of his House Remained on the Thirteenth Day to Mark the Lair of the Dictator.

On the 13th day of the 5th Chinese month, this being the 1st of July, the Manchu Emperor Hsuan Tung, who is 13 years of age according to Chinese reckoning, was reseated on the throne of his fathers by the notorious and irrepressible Chang Hsun, commander of the equally notorious "pig-tailed" army, and one day under the 13th day of his short reign, Hsuan Tung's regime automatically came to an end with the internment of Chang Hsun in the Legation Quarter, the surrender of the pig-tailed troops, and the triumphal entry into Peking of a large Republican army accompanied by what are best described as lavish displays of fireworks. The coincidental appearance of the figure 13 in this short summary of a most spectacular two weeks may be of interest to those who have a superstitious respect for this persistent 20th century hoodoo, and at all events it adds an extra touch of piquancy to what has been throughout nothing more than an *opera bouffe*, a diverting farce, which, while it got very much upon the nerves of the Peking populace from time to time, was recognized from the moment of its inception to the moment of its noisy climax as nothing but a passing diversion.

It would be unfair to the promoters of the restoration movement, however, to imply that they entered upon their *coup d'etat* with no more serious purpose than that of providing amusement for the Peking proletariat, the foreign residents in China, and the Chinese people at large. As a matter of fact they were so serious that at this very moment they cannot see anything amusing in the collective episodes, but like all fanatical loyalists who devote themselves to causes which

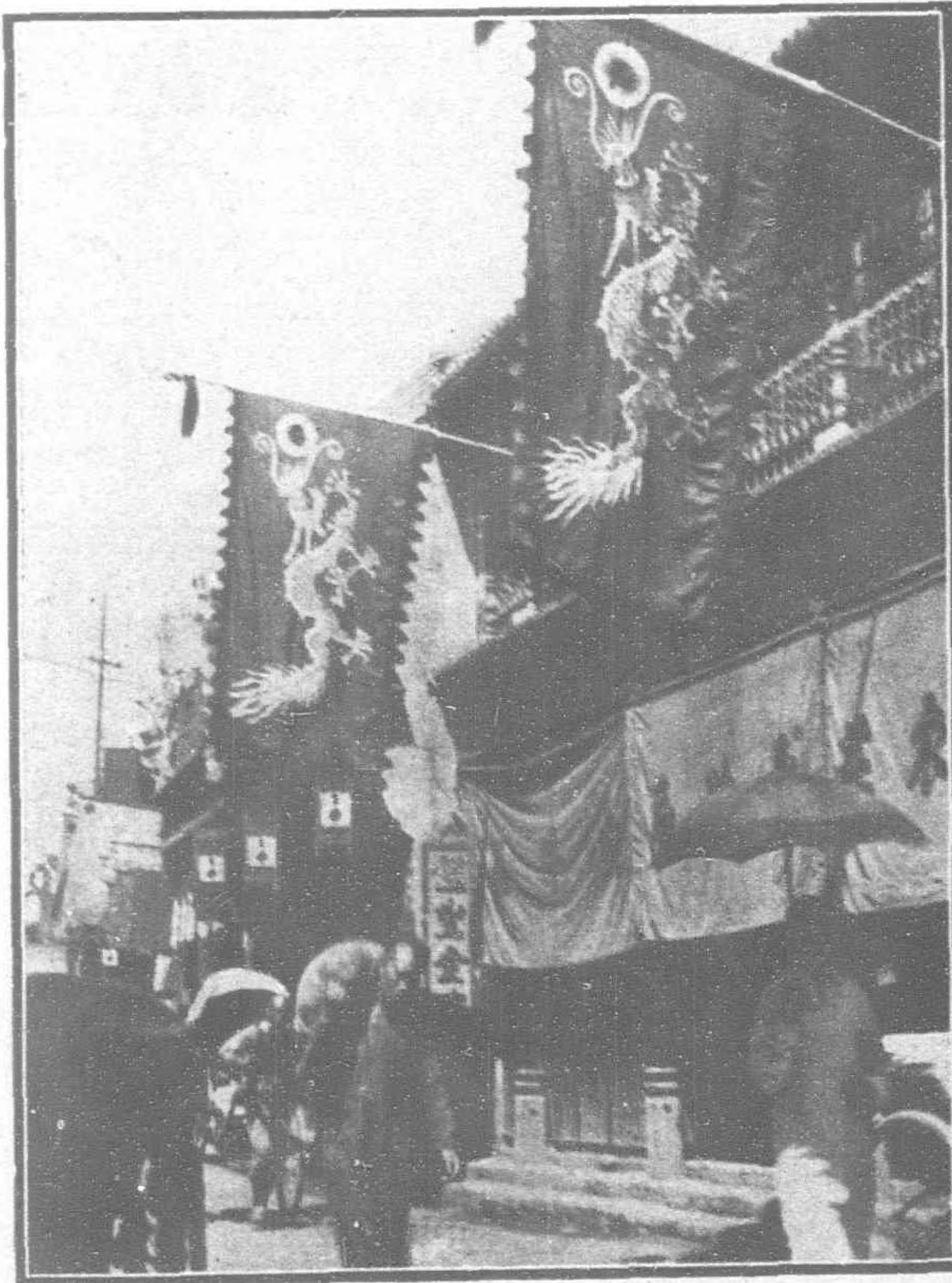
The Notorious Chang Hsun Caters to the Gaiety of Nations by taking the Boy Emperor of China from his Bed, setting him upon a Hard and Uncomfortable

time and progress have converted into anachronisms, they interpret their failure to the general degeneracy of human kind, especially the Chinese kind, the death of chivalry, and the abandonment of honour.

The restoration movement virtually began as soon as the Manchu authority was given for the establishment of the Republic of China on February 12, 1912. It was largely a conspiracy of the ancients. Among them were the Manchus who hated the new democracy because it robbed them of their honours, offices, dignities, positions of profit and graft, and their special allowances. There were also the Chinese, old officials for the most part, of a conservative turn who were simply opposed to change and who believed, as all the Chinese did a generation ago, that the ancient institutions preserved under an Imperial form of government, Manchu or otherwise, were the only ones suited to the Chinese people.

Then there were those who, out of a spirit of loyalty and gratitude to the Manchu Imperial family, under which they had risen from low stations in life to positions of great trust and power, ignored all questions of political advantage under either the Empire or the Republic and were frankly royalists.

Last of all there were the economic philosophers who, while believing in democracy, did not believe that the Republican form was as yet sufficiently understood by the Chinese people and were in favour of maintaining a hereditary head to the government until the principles of representative government were understood. The men of this latter class, of which Kang



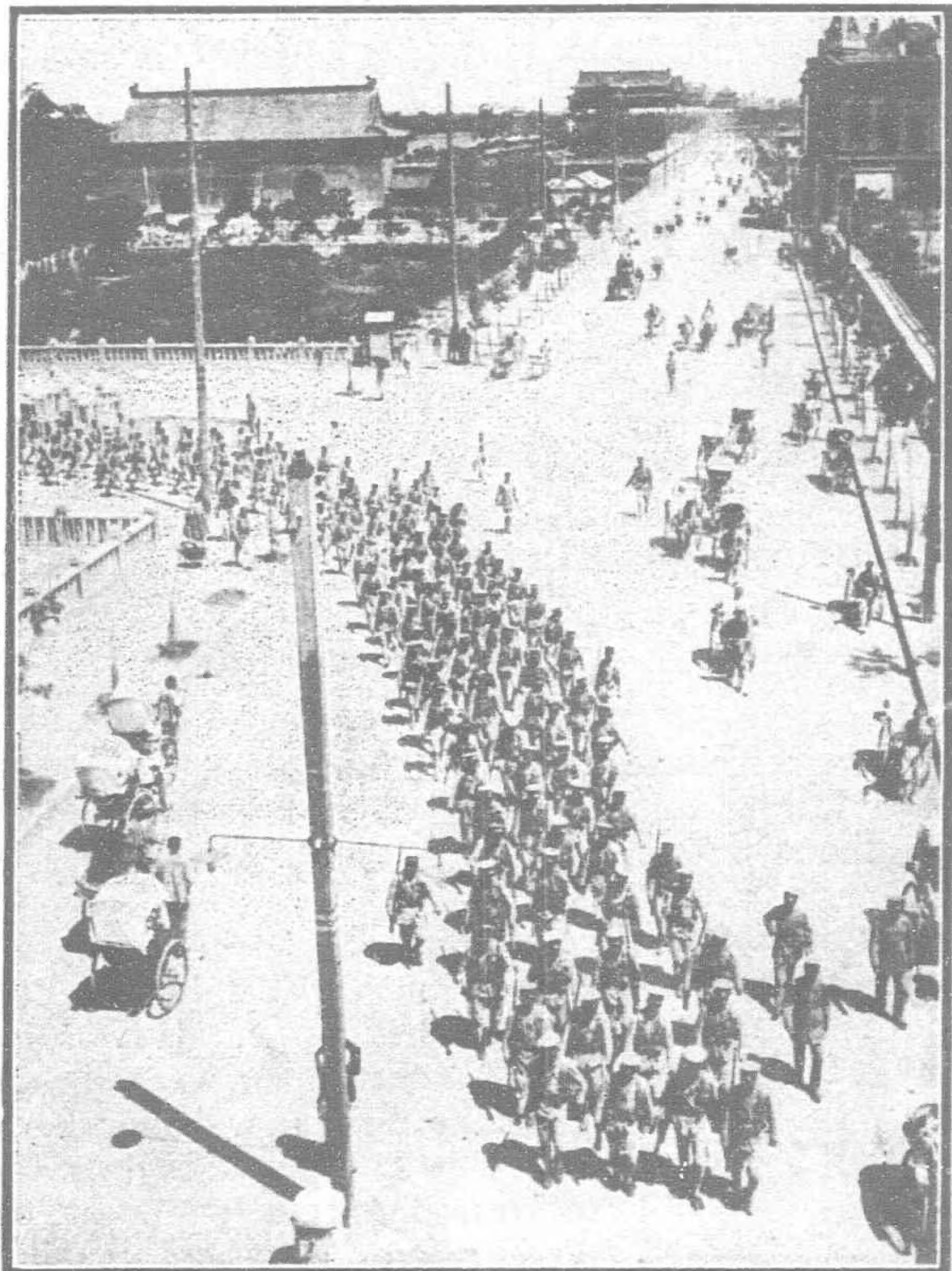
THE DRAGON FLAGS IN A PEKING STREET WHICH FIRST APPRISED THE PEOPLE THAT CHANG HSUN HAD RESTORED THE BOY EMPEROR

Yu-wei, Liang Chi-chao, and Yang Tu, were at one time representative exponents, divided themselves at the time of Yuan Shih-kai's abortive attempt to crown himself between Manchu supporters and Yuan men, but for the most part they were reconcilable to any reasonable monarchical system under any reasonable head.

These various groups worked together in Shantung, in Fengtien, in Tientsin, in Japan, and in Shanghai, with more or less harmony for more than five years, planning, conspiring, advancing when the season seemed opportune and when the Republic at its moments of turmoil seemed about to resolve itself into chaos, and retreating when the struggling democracy showed a tendency to struggle on, always enlisting recruits from the ranks of disgusted and disgruntled republicans, coaxing in the old conservatives, feeling for foreign support—German

South China and their grumblings took a pro-Imperial turn. They were approached, their grumblings were taken as pledges, and their names were entered upon the monarchist books. Then when the dismissal of Tuan Chi-jui brought matters to a head, when the Tuchuns left the city of Peking in disgust and organized their revolt, the monarchists, still blind to the force of a growing public sentiment opposed to them and awake only to the disaffection among the military barons, prodded old Chang Hsun on, and had him accept President Li's invitation to come to Peking and act as "mediator" among the various warring elements.

The wiser among them even then had no thought of an immediate restoration; they counselled delay and a reconciliation between Chang Hsun and the militarists with whom he had differed in Tientsin, and they planned to execute their *coup*



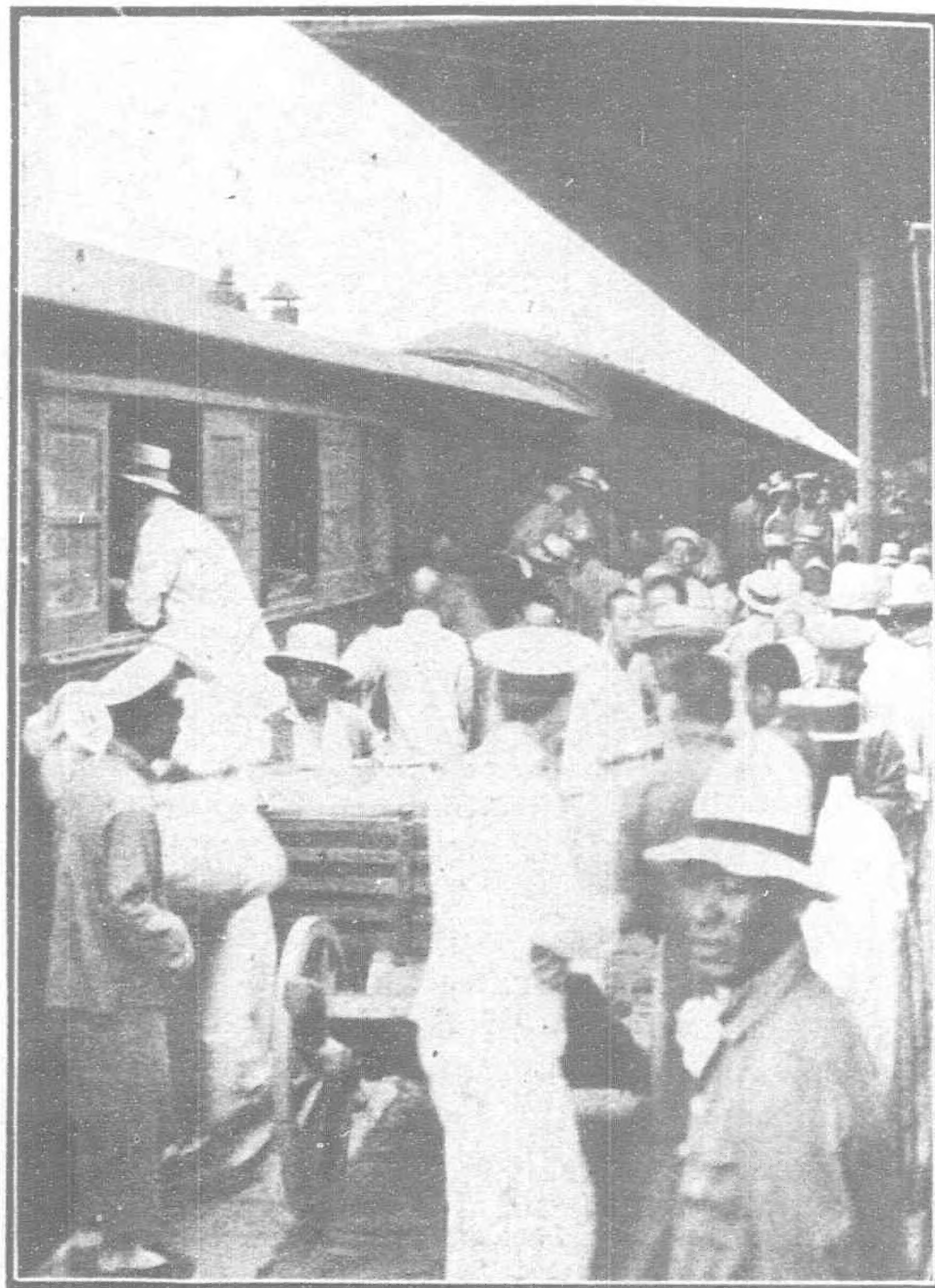
REPUBLICAN TROOPS MARCHING OUT OF PEKING A FEW DAYS BEFORE THE ATTACK.

in the second year of the Republic and Japanese a little later—using foreign adventurers as agents and messengers, and always relying, with a great faith in his fanatical gratitude and loyalty to the Manchu House, upon General Chang Hsun as their military champion.

In those days, when approached by Sheng Yun, Kung Wang, Kang Yu-wei, and other leaders of the various factions for prompt action in seasons of Republican weakness, Chang Hsun said: "It is too great a risk. We must wait a little longer. If there were two Chang Hsuns I should risk one of them, but as there is only one, we cannot afford the gamble."

During the latter years of the conspiracy the ardent monarchists, obsessed by a certainty of their eventual success, ignoring entirely the growing understanding among the Chinese people of the new democratic institutions, fairly wore a path between Hsuehowfu, Tsingtao, and Japan, making elaborate arrangements, appointing prospective officials, enlisting the services of the half-hearted conservatives who were weary of what was described as Kuomintang anarchy, and urging Chang Hsun on to leadership and action.

In January and February of this year it was decided in all circles that the hour of the homecoming of the royalists was imminent. The militarists were at sixes and sevens with all



THOUSANDS OF CHINESE FLED FROM PEKING DURING THE FORTNIGHT PRECEDING THE ATTACK

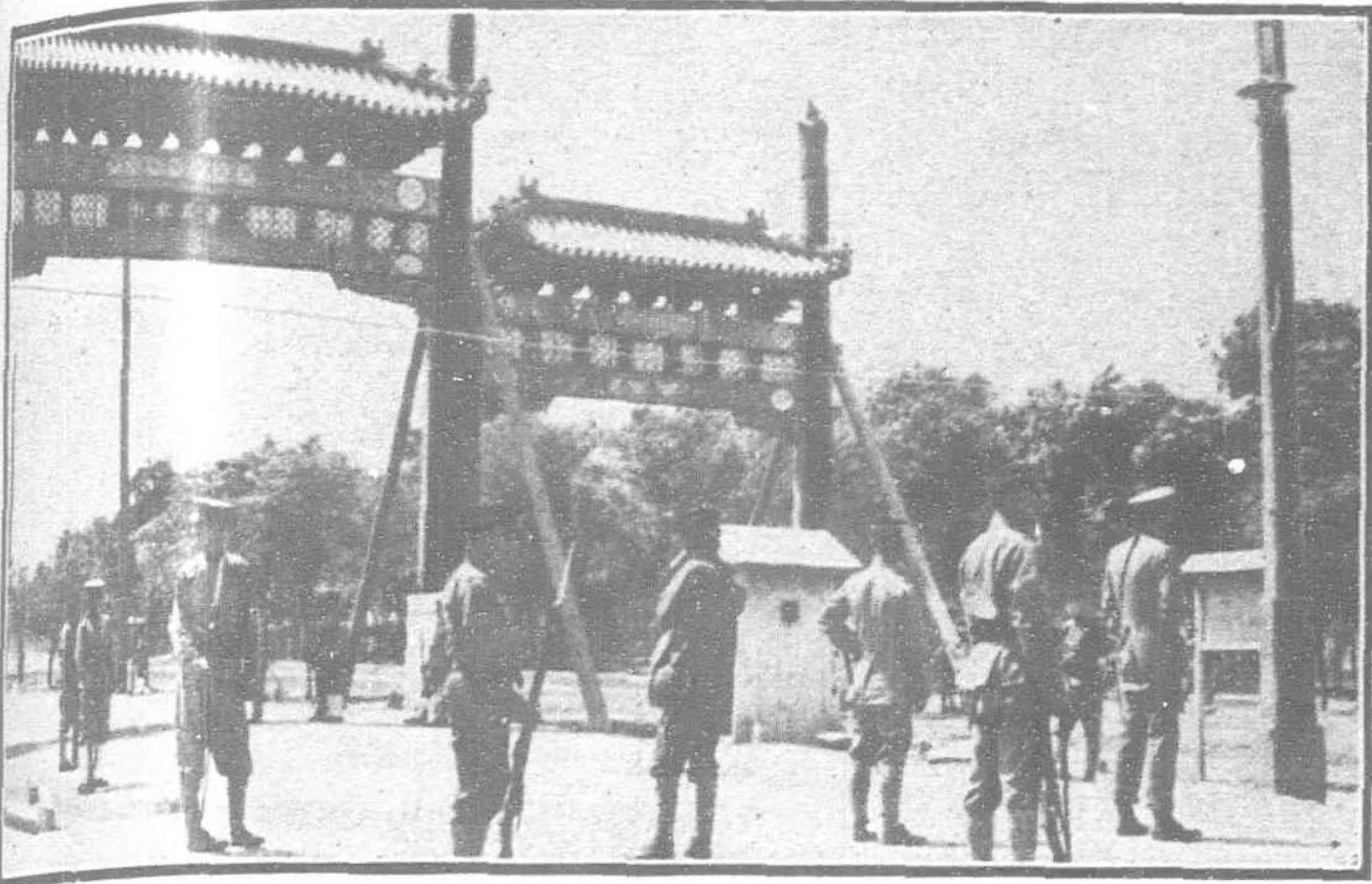
when harmony had been reached at the season of the next presidential elections.

It is indeed very unlikely that Chang Hsun himself thought the season had arrived, although he undoubtedly believed like his colleagues that once his Emperor sat upon the Dragon Throne the leaders of the North would rise as a man and acclaim him, and that the nation, strife weary, would follow suit.

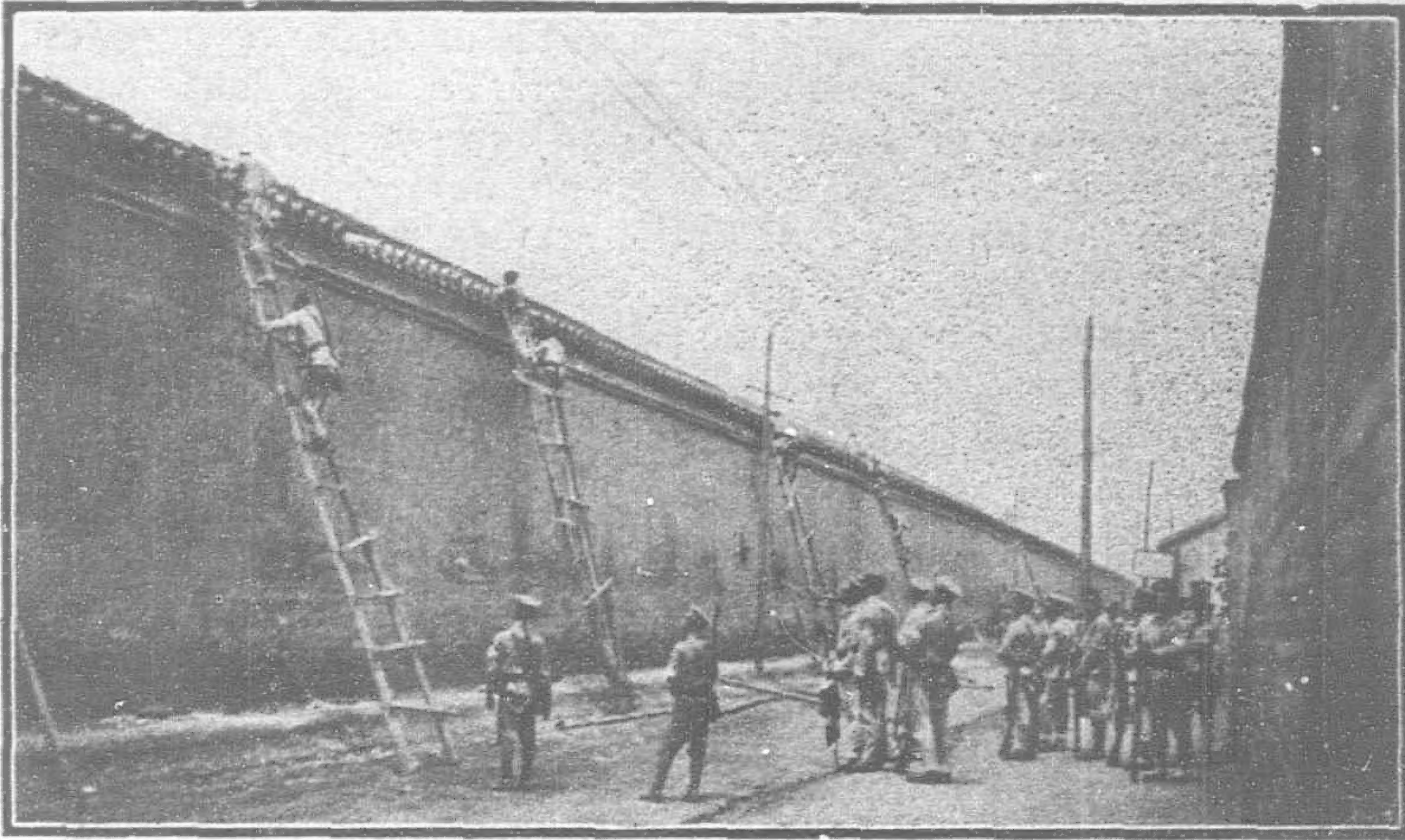
The arrival of Kang Yu-wei in Peking in the latter days of June aroused suspicions among the Republicans, but among the Monarchists, who believed their plans well laid and agreed upon, it did not presage an immediate restoration.

And then the *coup* came, a surprise to every one, a shock to Peking, a shock to the Manchu household, a pleasing and yet doubtful surprise for the Monarchists, and perhaps something of a surprise to Chang Hsun himself when he came to think seriously over the move which he very evidently made upon the impulse of the hour.

The old leader of the Tingwu army, who had come to Peking with a force of his half-drilled soldiers which certainly did not exceed 4,000, who had established in the premiership Li Ching-hsi and had then found that his candidate could win no support and establish no government, who found President Li Yuan-hung a swaying reed that bent before every puff of political wind, went out of the Chienmen (the Central Southern



CHANG HSUN'S SOLDIERS ON GUARD NEAR THE LEGATION QUARTER. THE OTHER MEN IN UNIFORM ARE MEMBERS OF THE PEKING GENDARMERIE



REPUBLICAN TROOPS SCALING THE IMPERIAL CITY WALL TO FIRE UPON CHANG HSUN'S HOUSE ABOUT 65 YARDS DISTANT ON THE OPPOSITE SIDE

gate of the Tartar city) on the evening of June 30 to attend a dinner and a theatrical performance given in his honour at the Kiangsi Guild Hall.

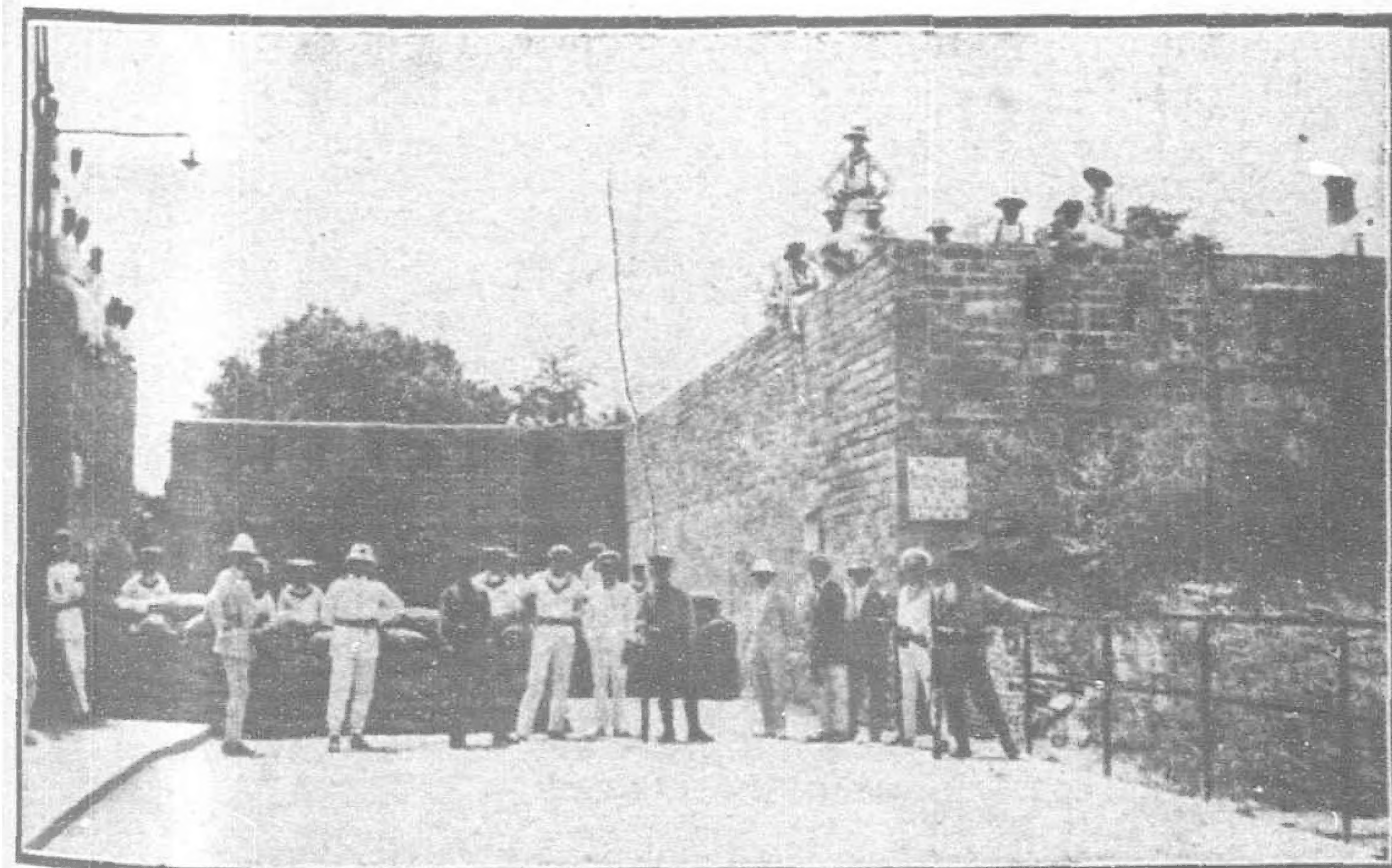
According to all accounts, he returned in an expansive and self-confident frame of mind shortly after midnight, and being more or less inspired by good cheer and histrionic enthusiasm, he determined to put into actual effect his ambition of five years' accretion—to re-establish the Empire, then and there, to risk the one Chang Hsun, and to rely upon the pledges of his military colleagues, and the popular enthusiasm for ancient traditional institutions.

Wang Shih-chen, Chiang Chao-chung, and other military leaders in the Capital were summoned from their beds by telephone, and, when assembled in Chang Hsun's heavily guarded house in the south-east corner of the Imperial City, were told of the Tingwu leader's determination to recall Hsuan Tung to the throne, and were instructed to give their support.

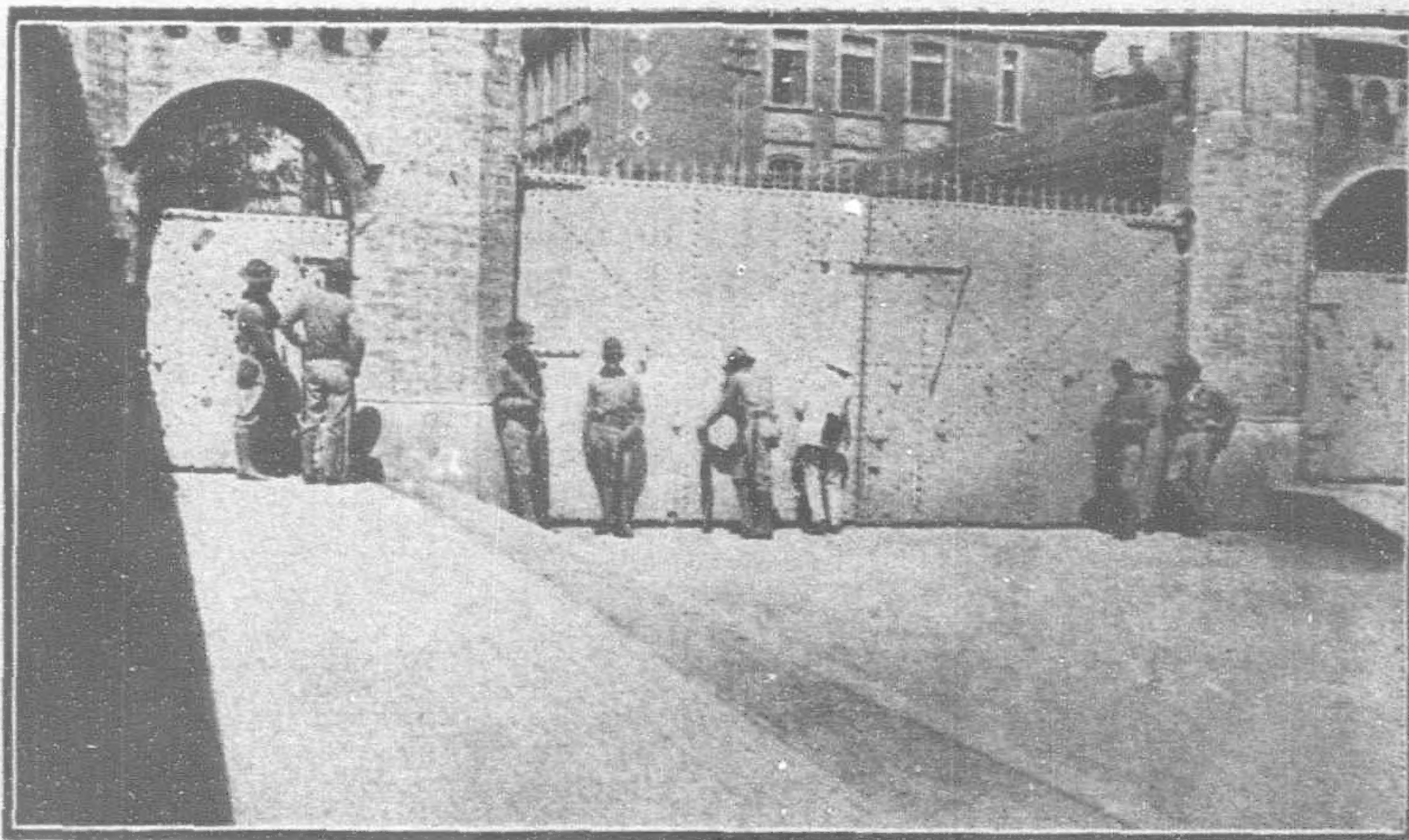
Liang Ting-fan (Tutor to the Emperor), Wang Shih-chen (Chief of the General Staff), Chiang Chao-chun (Chief of the Peking Gendarmerie), Chen Kuang-yuan (Commander of the 12th Division), Wu Ping-hsiang (Chief of the Peking Police), and Tsai Cheng-hsun (Commander of the 1st Division of Manchu troops) were detailed to visit President Li Yuan-hung and persuade him gracefully to resign. Forthwith they visited the Presidential Palace, and at about 2 o'clock in the morning roused the President from sleep and put before him the startling proposal. The President was wide awake in a moment and firmly refused the request. Without ado and undismayed the delegation withdrew, reported the result of their mission, and in two hours' time returned to the President to announce the sensational fact that his retirement was a matter of indifference since subsequent to their first visit the Emperor had been restored.



DRAGON FLAGS IN PEKING HUTUNGS (NARROW STREETS)



NORTH-EASTERN ENTRANCE TO THE LEGATION QUARTER. ITALIAN LEGATION ON RIGHT; AUSTRIAN LEGATION ON LEFT. SAND BAG BARRICADE WAS ERECTED AND GUARDS POSTED IN CASE OF EMERGENCIES



THE ARMORED GATE AT THE WEST END OF THE LEGATION QUARTER GUARDED BY AMERICAN MARINES. THIS GATE WAS UNDER FIRE, IT BEING OPPOSITE CHANG HSUN'S LINE OF COMMUNICATION WITH CHIEN MEN

With amazing energy and swiftness the dramatic ceremonies of making an Emperor and unmaking a President were gone through before daylight, the Tingwu troops were stationed at the post-offices, railways, telegraph offices, yamens, and residences of prominent officials, the scribes were set to work on the Imperial Edicts, dragon flags were exhumed from the limbo, or from the lavender, and hoisted, and when Peking arose in the morning to go about its business it discovered, somewhat to its dismay, and not a little to its amusement, that it had reverted over night to mediaevalism, and that the ever-sensational Chang Hsun had played the conjurer with remarkable system and celerity.

It is impossible to describe even now the scenes at the re-establishment of Hsuan Tung upon the throne, which took place at 3 o'clock in the morning, for the accounts are still confused, and now that it is all over the actors are not available. It became known, however, before the evening of the first day that it had not been a scene of unmixed rejoicing.

Of the Boy Emperor's three tutors, Liang Ting-fen alone was in favour of the immediate restoration. The Guardian, Shih Hsu, is said to have pounded his head upon the paving until his forehead was bloody, imploring all concerned to stop the farce, and the Dowager Chin is said to have wept bitterly and to have prophesied the immediate collapse of the tinsel glory which Chang Hsun insisted upon reinstating.

There was no suggestion of a compromise with democracy about the restoration which the Tingwu general had in mind and

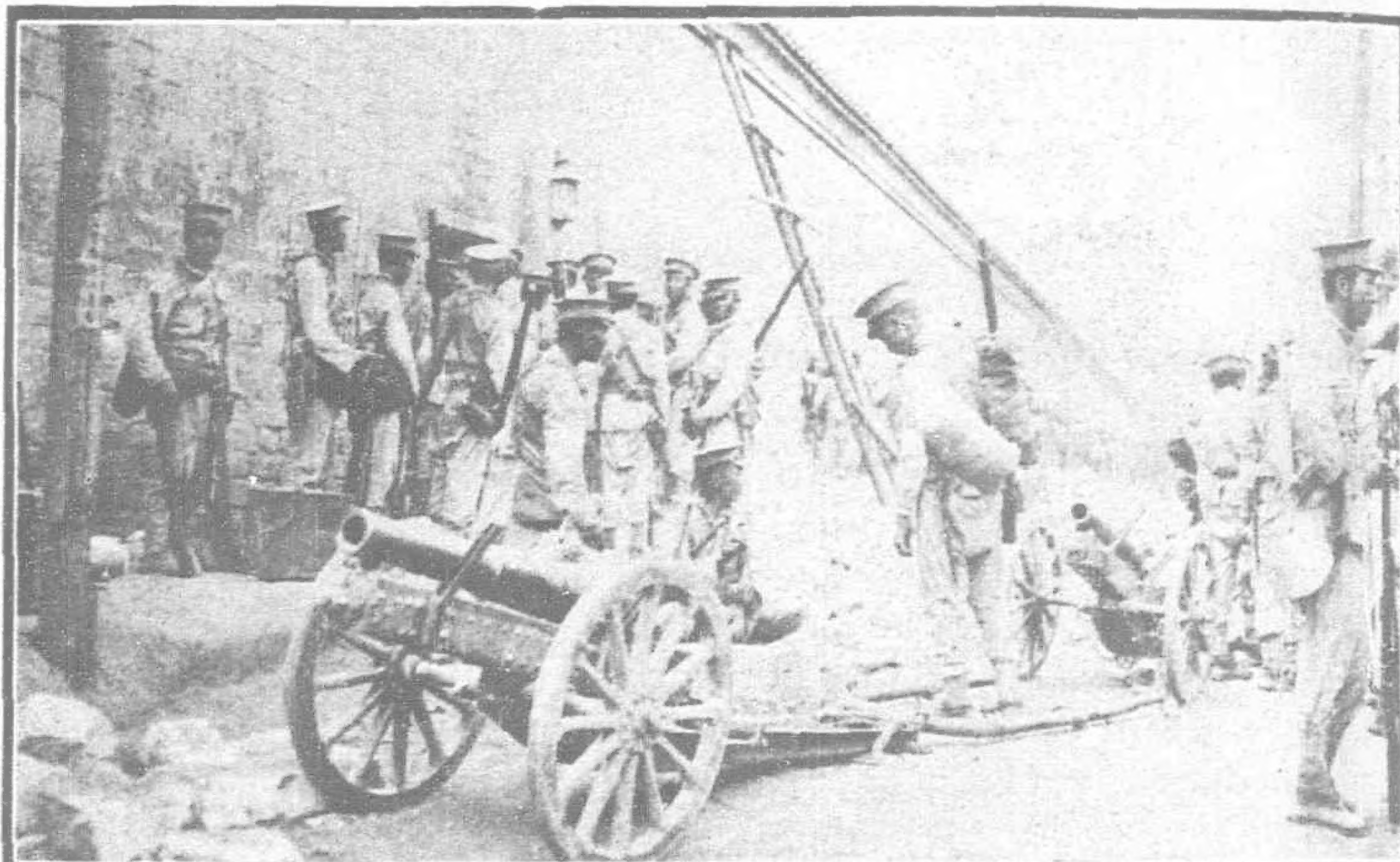
wanted one as a "souvenir," and tea houses outside the Chien-men resounded with the stilted phrases from these mediaeval documents, read aloud with due eclat by scholarly wags to highly appreciative audiences.

Nothing was clearer than that the whole *coup* was a joke, and yet no one could understand, least of all the resident foreigners, why it had been perpetrated and how men like Chiang Chao-chung, Wu Ping-hsiang, Chen Kuang-yuan, and other local commanders, whose forces outnumbered the little horde of strutting, tattered Tingwu ten to one, could permit themselves to play monarchy, to sing subsidiary parts in the foredoomed *opera bouffe*, and to make necessary the inevitable preparation of a punitive force and a punitive expedition. This is not yet explained, though at the time the theory was feebly put forward that out of consideration for foreign diplomats and residents, not to mention the Chinese merchant population, it was decided by these military chiefs to let the farce play itself out without introducing the melodramatic features of street fighting and looting.

The Imperialists on this first day either felt certain of their ground or were inclined to be conciliatory, for there was no attempt made to prevent the escape of well-known Republicans, nor to coerce unwilling appointees into accepting office. On the first train out of town Liang Chi-chao and Li Ching-hsi, the hopeless Premier, made their flight to Tientsin. They were followed by hordes of others; and democrats of all degrees, not trusting to Chang Hsun's mercy or indulgence, either went into hiding, fled the city, or found quarters in the Legation area.



IMPERIAL CITY WALL PUNCTURED OPPOSITE CHANG HSUN'S HOUSE BY THE REPUBLICAN TROOPS



REPUBLICAN SOLDIERS AT THE IMPERIAL CITY WALL WHENCE THEY WERE ATTACKING CHANG HSUN'S HOUSE

which he proceeded to effect with unsurpassed zeal. The constitutional monarchy, the *Hsu Ching Kung Ho* of the philosophical monarchists and of the disgruntled republican militarists and conservatives, was spurned.

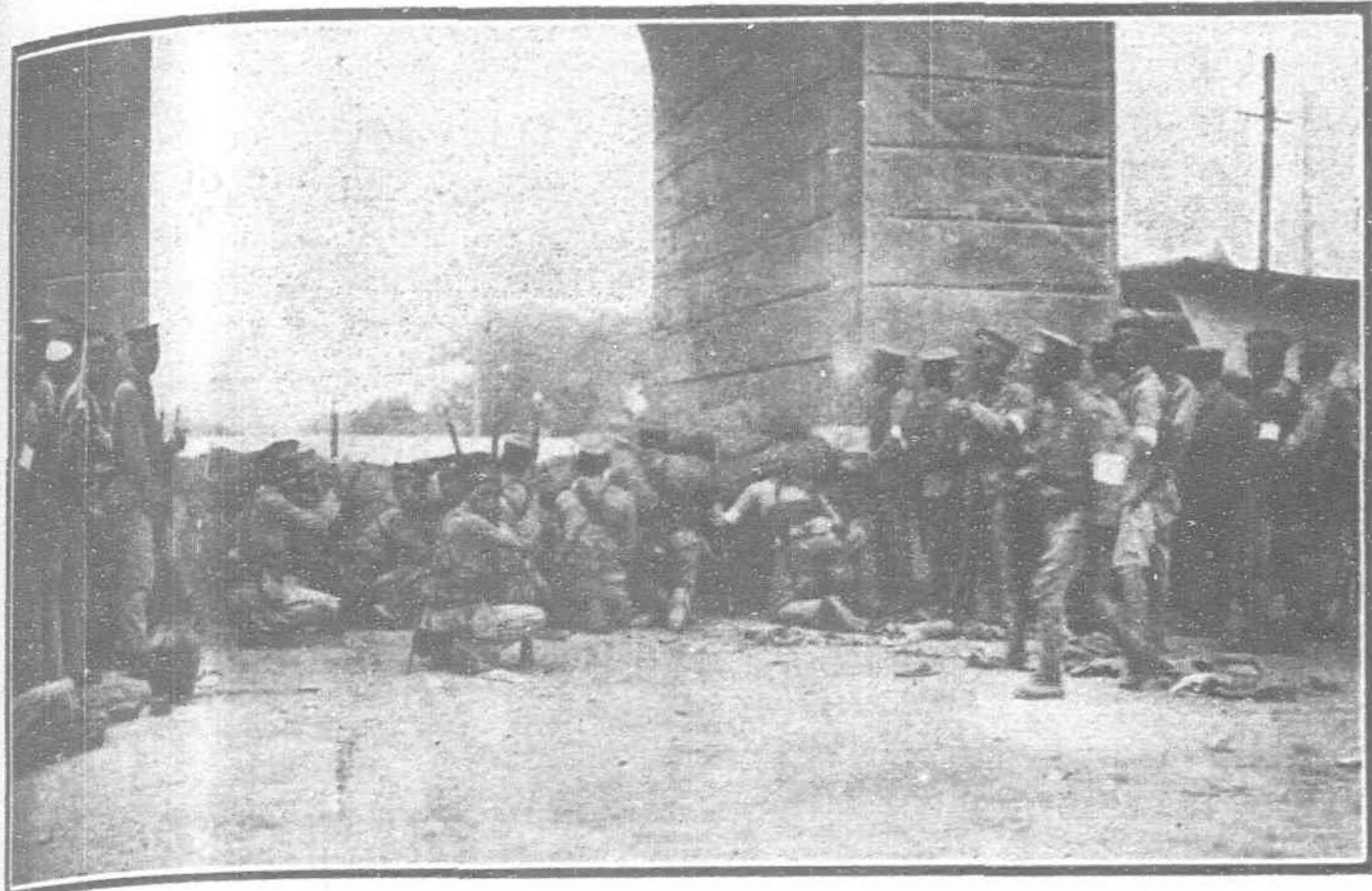
The old dragon robes, the peacock feathers, the buttons of rank, the titles of nobility, the strange privileges of favoured dignitaries, the pompous and bombastic diction of edicts, the veils of pearls and strings of beads, the *kowtow* and the special patois of court diction, all had to be dragged out of musty minds and flaunted before a public just getting used to badly designed silk hats, illfitting frock coats and handshakes with the mighty.

Immediately after the second visit to the Presidential Palace, the mission departed to draft and sign a mandate of resignation for President Li. The obstinacy of a President could not be permitted to dim the rising glory of an Emperor.

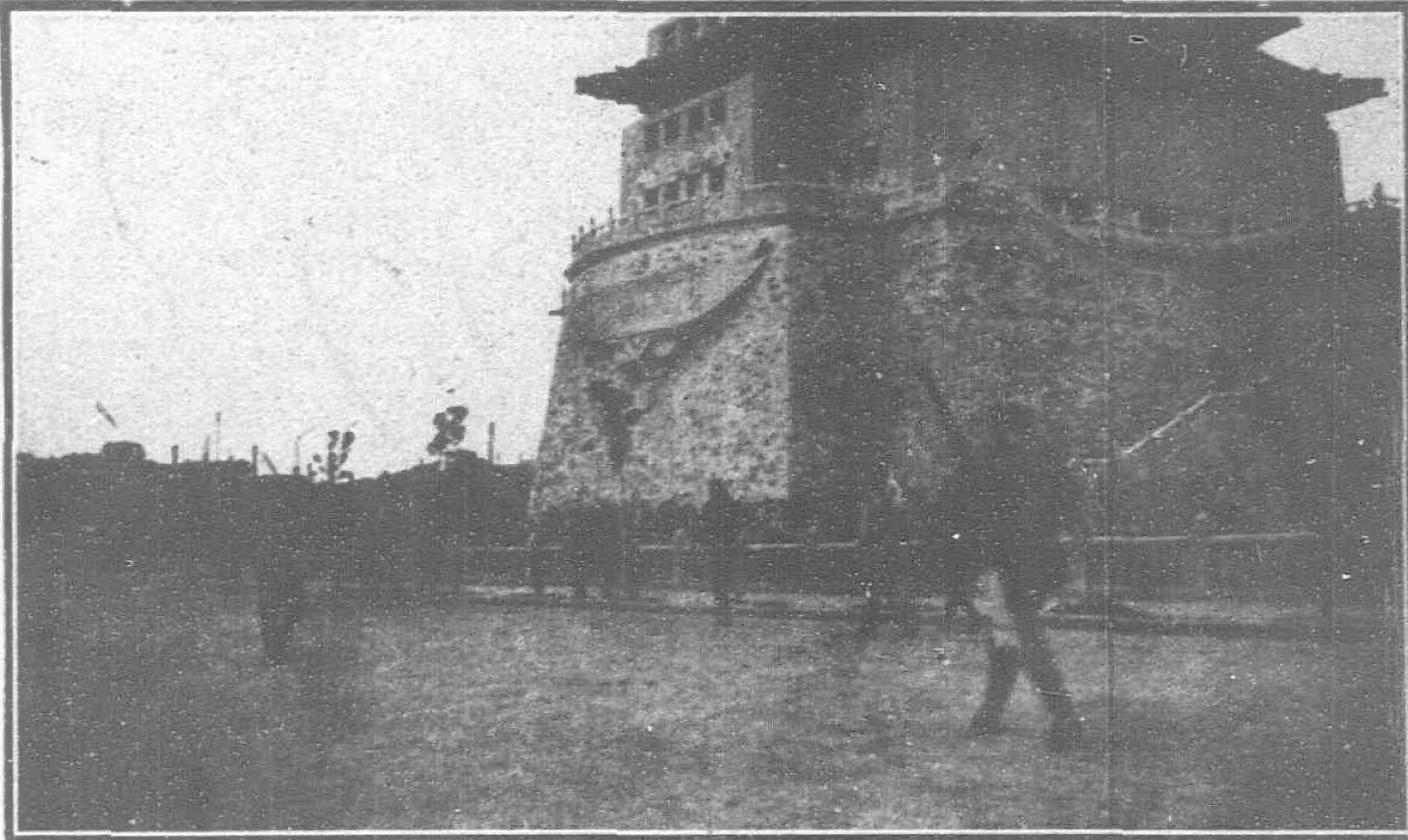
A similar effusion was drawn up for Feng Kuo-chang and others, and in the afternoon, when the populace, which crowded the streets in grinning anticipation of the next act in a splendid farce, had almost exhausted itself in a contemplation of dragon flags and pig-tailed Tingwu guards, the pompous Imperial edicts came out and enterprising pedlars, who bought them from the government press in bales, did a thriving business disposing of them to the giggling multitude at six coppers each. Every one

On the second day the flight of the populace began and every train leaving the capital was crowded to its utmost capacity with refugees, all carrying as much of their worldly goods as the baggage regulations would permit. This exodus continued until the suspension of the train service on the night of July 4 put an end to it, and then the hordes of timid folk sat upon their baggage in the stations night and day hoping that a train might, by some chance, venture down the line.

The President's position in his Palace was not an enviable one. He was a squatter on Imperial property after the establishment of the Empire, and he was given to understand that he would have to move back to his private house as soon as possible. The Japanese military adviser, General Aoki, visited him frequently to encourage him, the Diplomatic Corps notified Chang Hsun that they expected him to deal gently with the deposed chief executive, and many of his personal friends stayed with him night and day, but loss of sleep and loss of appetite wore upon him and on the night of the 2nd about 9:30 o'clock, he made his escape in a motor car in company with General Tang Chung-yin and his secretary Liu Chung-hsiu, into the Legation Quarter, and, after trying vainly to gain admittance into the French Hospital, and fearing pursuit, incontinently fled on up Legation street to the Japanese Legation and asked for protection at the military barracks.



REPUBLICAN TROOPS AFTER CAPTURING THE TUNGHUAMEN FROM CHANG HSUN'S TROOPS. IN THE BACKGROUND IS THE EASTERN GATE OF THE FORBIDDEN CITY



THE WATCH TOWER NEAR THE CHIENMEN, AROUND WHICH CHANG HSUN'S MEN SHELTERED AND FIRED UNTIL THEY SURRENDERED

President Li's flight and safe arrival upon neutral ground was the signal for the gathering of the punitive forces, and if Chang Hsun had taken China by surprise by his *coup d'état*, his Republican opponents, under the leadership of General Tuan Chi-jui, certainly astonished the old Tingwu commander quite as much by the celerity and system with which they organized their punitive force, set them moving, and hemmed the king-maker within the four walls of the city of Peking.

General Tuan's reappointment as Premier and Commander in Chief of the Republican army, and the delegation of all Presidential powers to Vice-President Feng Kuo-chang, emanated from the Palace shortly before President Li's departure, and the following morning, the morning of the 3rd, Tuan Chi-jui and Liang Chi-chao went to Machang, the old training ground of the Model Army, and enlisted the nucleus of the punitive expedition from the 8th Division, which was then stationed there.

The Court at Peking nevertheless remained oblivious to this and continued to give audiences, to confer offices and titles, and in other ways to imitate the curriculum of other days. The public felt no particular change, except that there was annoying censorship of posts and telegraphs, and a falling off in the value of Bank of China and Bank of Communication notes.

The following day, however, Chang Hsun became aware that the opposition was active, that most of the Tuchuns, conservative politicians, and others upon whom he had counted for support, had gone over to his powerful adversary Tuan Chi-jui, and that they were uniting against him.

His information was scarcely more rapid than the approach of the punitive armies. With a remarkable showing of control and organization, General Tuan had twelve troop trains on the way to Peking on the night of the 4th, had Chang Tso-lin

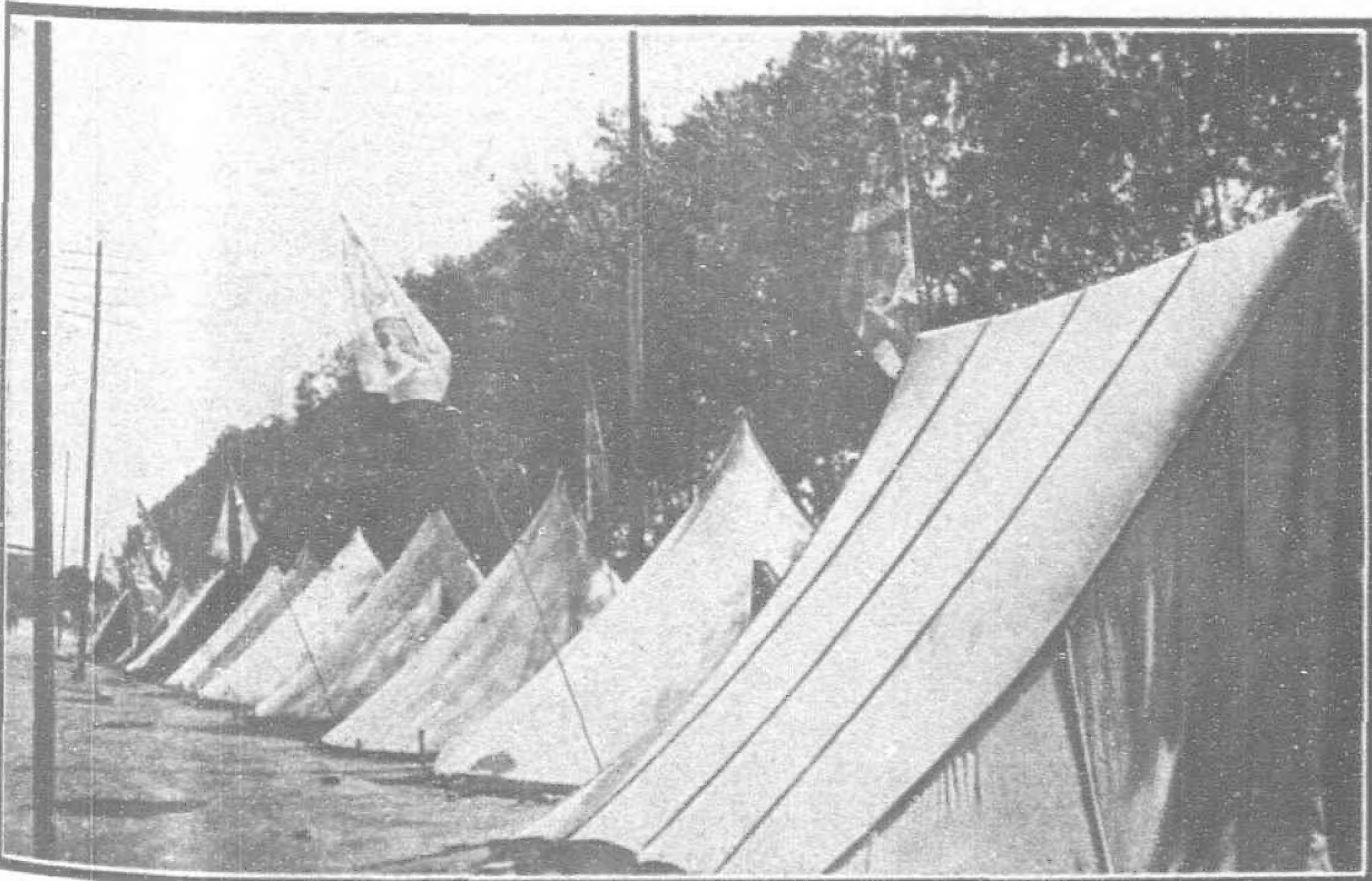
seizing cars at Fengtien to support him if necessary, had Tsao Kun advancing from Paotingfu upon Peking with the picked troops of two divisions, had Tien Chung-yu moving troops from the north, and in the Yangtze Valley and Shantung had Ni Shih-chung and Chang Huai-chih closing in upon Chang Hsun's forces at Hsuehowfu.

Preparations were made that same day to take over the government of Tientsin City at midnight, and it was carefully planned that two days later, on Friday, the punitive forces would meet in Fengtai, 12 miles from Peking, and close in upon the Tingwu chief and his little army.

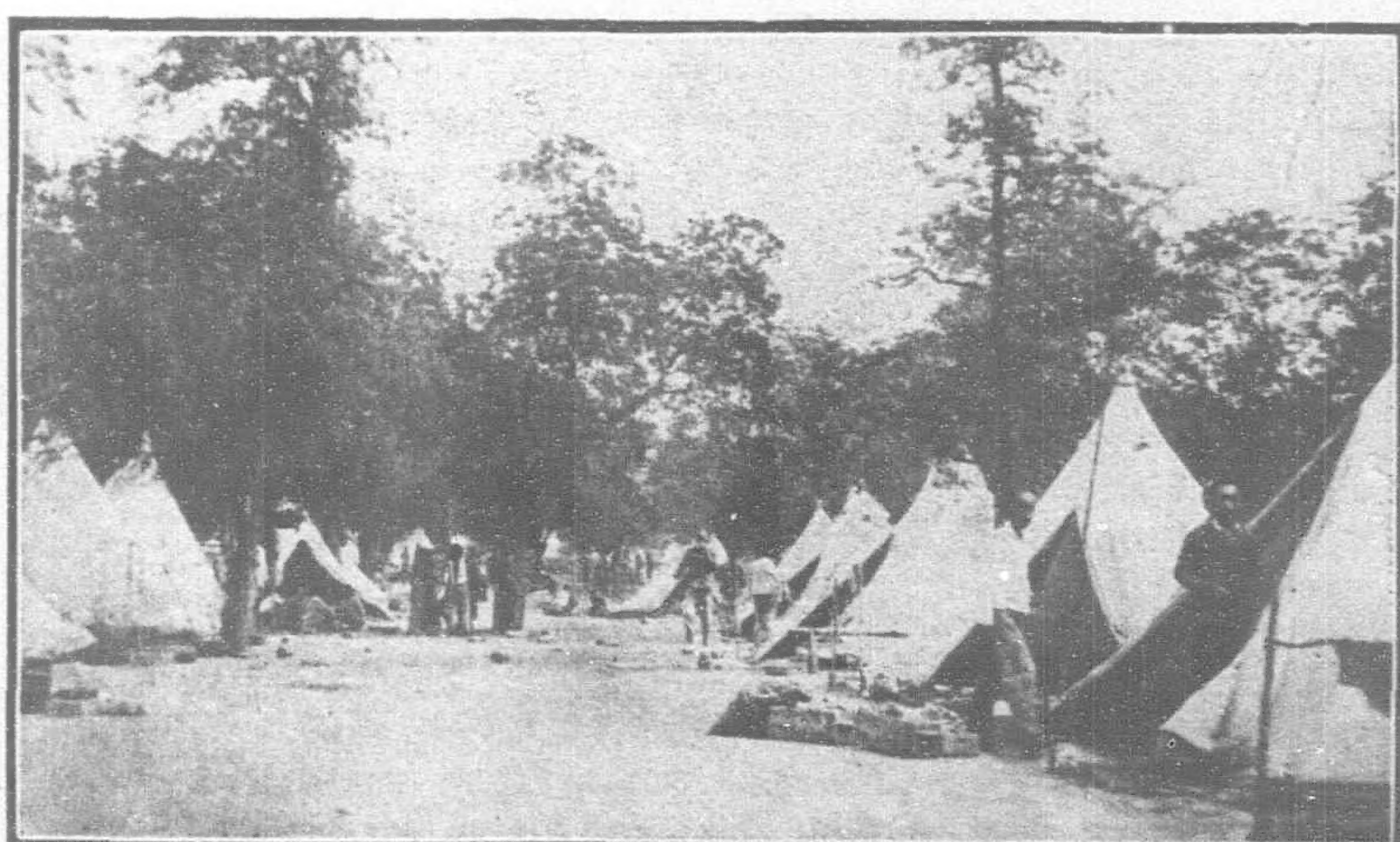
Fifty thousand men were available at the first call for this trapping of the Empire and its handful of supporters, and from the moment of the organization of the punitive force, every one, including Chang Hsun himself, knew that the life of the Empire could be measured in days.

At this juncture the dragon flags began to disappear, the houses of monarchists were closed, the new officials failed to attend the offices which they had visited with much state and solemnity, and the Tingwu were looked upon by the populace, the police, and the gendarmerie, with hostility. A cooler and more self-assured lot of men, however, never paraded the streets of the Capital, and Chang Hsun himself was not one to abandon his Imperial project at the first approach of danger. The night train from Tientsin on the 4th of July brought him the news that his enemies were nearly 20 miles on their way from Tientsin to Peking, that the Langfang troops, half way up the line, who numbered 5,000, were ready to join the punitive force, and that Tsao Kun's men would be within field-gun range of the city by morning.

Instead of throwing up fortifications, however, or finding the quietest way into the nearest foreign community, Chang Hsun



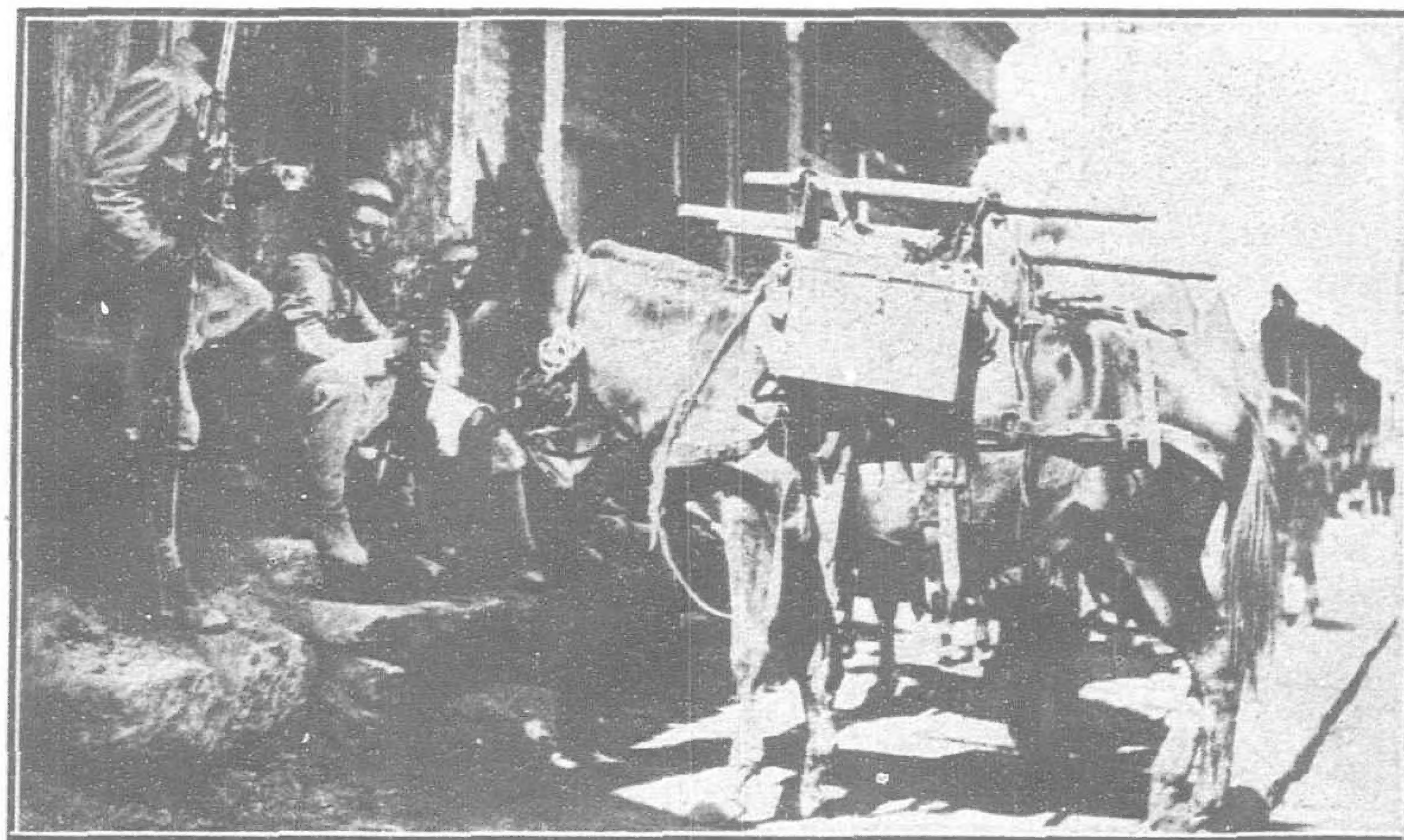
THE CAMP OF CHANG HSUN'S BODYGUARD IN FRONT OF CHANG HSUN'S HOUSE



PORTION OF THE CAMP OF CHANG HSUN'S TROOPS AT THE TEMPLE OF HEAVEN

promptly despatched two trainloads of troops, Tingwu men, Imperial guardsmen, and a few from the local garrisons, to Langfang to meet the advancing forces. The Langfang men met this move by tearing a rail off of 48-mile bridge, thus interrupting traffic, and the next day when the Tuan Chi-jui forces, under the leadership of Tuan Chi-kuei, who was in command of the eastern forces as Tsao Kun was of the western, came up in support of the Langfang soldiers, they pushed the Tingwu troops well up the line with a liberal expenditure of ammunition and very few casualties. The Tingwu troops returned the compliment by ripping up more rails in the neighborhood of Huangtsun. The details of these running skirmishes, the geography of the scenes of battles, and the exact personnel of the combatants, are still buried in the maze of rumour and hyperbole that grew up about them on the spot, but it is certain that they were not very important engagements and that the Tuan forces pushed the blue clad Tingwu, and their yellow clad colleagues, among both of whom there were more desertions than casualties, well up the line and then settled down to repair the damage done the track.

The first train to arrive in Peking from Tientsin came in on the night of the 6th with enthusiastic contingents of American and Japanese soldiers, burdened with countless souvenirs of the battle, but with very little real news. During this period of excommunication, which lasted something more than 48 hours, the Tingwu had retreated to Fengtai. Tsao Kun's troops had arrived at the Marco Polo bridge west of the city, the troops of the big garrisons at Nanyuan, Peiyuan, and Hsiyuan, had



MOUNTAIN BATTERY EQUIPMENT

impressed Chang Hsun as being untrustworthy and had been removed from the metropolis, more monarchical officials with large titles and small courage had disappeared, and Chiang Chao-Chung, Wu Ping-hsiang, and Wang Shih-chen, had opened a campaign of persuasion to get the King-maker and his following out of the city. Little panics stirred the mercantile communities, bank notes exchanged at about half their face value, the wildest rumours were in circulation everywhere, and in spite of protests from the Diplomatic Corps against the cutting of the railway and the general menace to foreign safety, Chang Hsun sat grimly in his big house and pledged himself to stand his ground.

On Friday, the 7th, there came a decisive skirmish at Fengtai. A mail-train, flying the British flag and carrying Legation officers, started for Tientsin with the mails, a few foreign passengers, and a vast horde of Chinese refugees. While it stood in Fengtai station the fighting commenced, and the train was in the midst of it. The first line of the punitive forces opened fire on the Tingwu who were sheltered in a willow grove, and the Tingwu replied with every weapon in their possession, while an aeroplane added to the general confusion by dropping several bombs upon the scene. The train was moved out of the line of fire, the Tuan Chi-kuei men charged the Tingwu, who retreated to the Yungtingmen, in the south wall of the city, and the punitive forces drew in and formed a close circle about the four walls.

About this time Chang Hsun was given a further unpleasant surprise, when an aeroplane soared over the Imperial Palace and dropped a bomb which did some material damage and wounded two men. The city was then in a state of siege, and negotiations of a sort were entered upon while the Tingwu, now less than 3000 strong, fortified themselves in the Temple of Heaven grounds and in the Nanhoyen about Chang Hsun's house.

Peking remained in a state of comparative rest and quiet, but in decided suspense from this time until the opening of hostilities in the city itself on the morning of the 12th. Every effort was made by intermediaries to persuade Chang Hsun to surrender, but as no terms were offered him directly by Tuan Chi-jui, and as the Republican manifestos continued to placard him as a bandit and a traitor, he refused to discuss any terms but his own, which were confined to the retention of the monarchy.

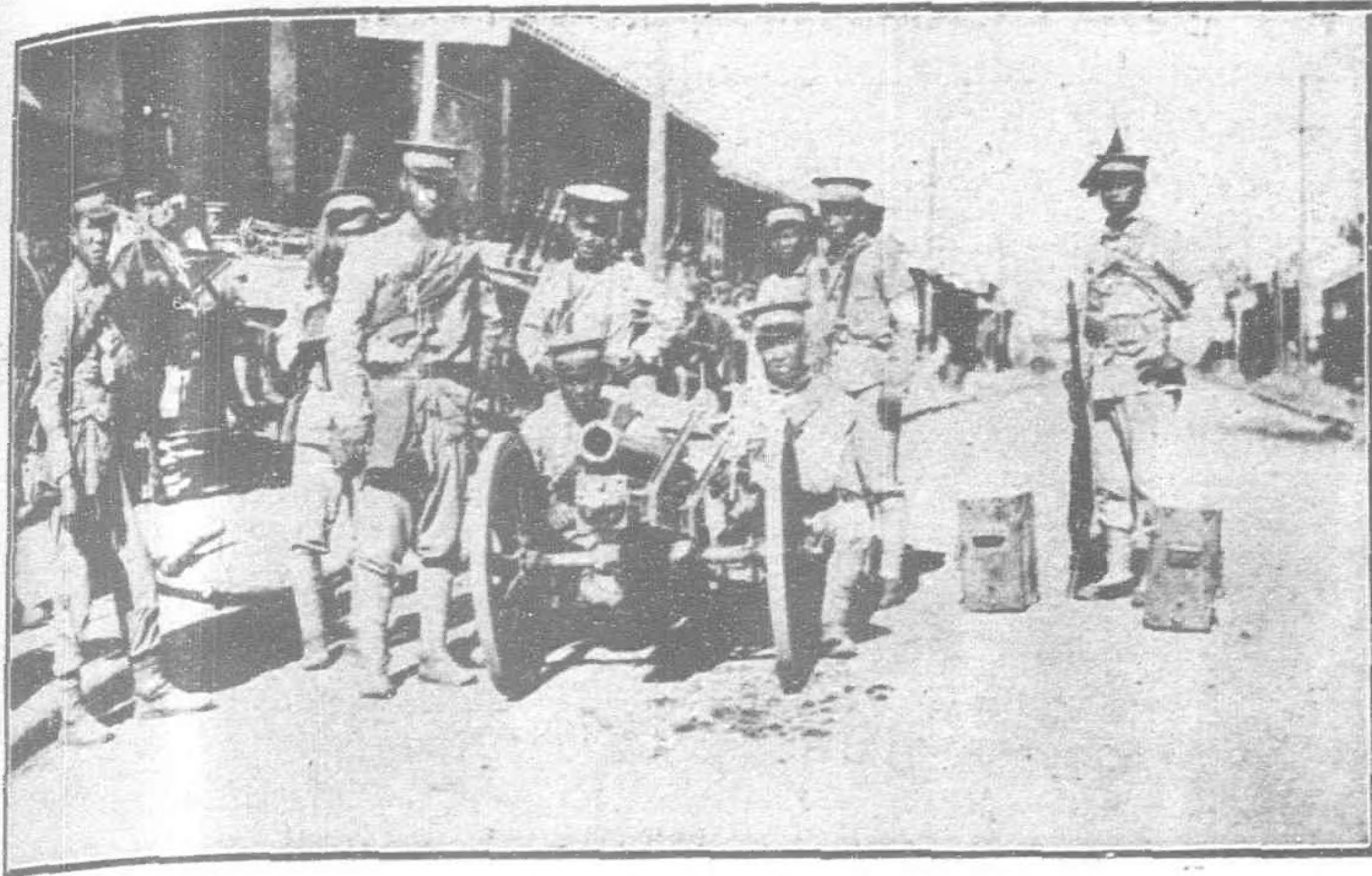
On the 9th a diplomatic conference was held by the Ministers of the various Legations, as a result of which the Dutch Minister, as Doyen of the Corps, was empowered to transmit a verbal message through Wang Shih-chen, to Chang Hsun, suggesting that he surrender his arms and his men on the single condition that his life be spared. As this message was unfavourably received, the Diplomatic Corps decided that it had no further cause to interfere, and that it would be best to let matters take their course. On this same day Chang Hsun ceased to have a government and to have competent agents through whom he could deal directly with the Legations or with his opponents. Ministers of War and Finance, Lai and Chang,



A MACHINE GUN MOUNTED ON THE SUMMER PALACE ROAD

attempted flight to Tientsin, but were intercepted by the Republicans at Fengtai and sent on as prisoners. Liang Tun-yen and Kang Yu-wei, bold advocates of monarchy the previous week, slipped into the Legation Quarter and found protection, and except for the intermittent conferences with the chiefs of the gendarmerie and police concerning the defence of the city and the preservation of order, Chang Hsun saw practically no one but his own secretaries and military underlings.

On the night of the 10th, however, when an attack was expected and the hopelessness of his position was fully realized, Chang Hsun, without offering terms of his own or relinquishing his position as protector of the monarchy, issued a manifesto in which he demanded justice and fair play from his opponents, and called upon the Legations to see that such treatment was accorded him. This, however, produced little effect, for the following afternoon the Legations were notified by the forces encircling the city that an attack would be made that night or the following morning, and Chang Hsun, after making several statements to the Press, defining his position and reasserting his sincerity and his loyalty to the Imperial family, charging Feng Kuo-Chang, Hsu Shih-chang, and nearly all the military leaders except Tuan Chi-jui with betraying him, and announcing his intention to fight to the death, withdrew his men into their sandbag barriers at the Tunghuamen and the Nanchihtze, and awaited what he deemed the inevitable.



FIELD GUN IN A PEKING STREET FACING THE IMPERIAL CITY



A MACHINE GUN READY FOR ACTION

The attack commenced with a terrific uproar at 4:30 on the morning of Thursday, July 12. It is impossible to describe this "battle" which, with the exception of the shelling of Chang Hsun's house, was apparently nothing more than a face-saving incident on both sides. An enormous quantity of ammunition was fired into the air and over the roofs of all quarters of the city, a few soldiers—very few—were deliberately shot in the fray, a few were hit by chance, and a host of non-combatants, including at least five foreign spectators, were more or less seriously wounded; but there were no mass attacks, no bayonet charges and no point blank fusilades. In fact nothing much happened but noise.

Between 9 and 10 in the morning after the Tsao Kun troops south of the Shunchiomen, and the Tuan Chi-kuei troops inside the Tsoanmen had made an enormous demonstration with the continual discharge of at least 10,000 rifles and quite a few field pieces in the neighborhood of the Temple of Heaven, where three were killed out of 1,600, there was a parley, and a surrender under arms was arranged with the promise of three months pay that same night. Matters were more businesslike about the Chienmen and the Tunghuamen, however, where 5,000 men besieged about 300 in the neighborhood of Chang Hsun's house and where the field pieces at the Shunchihmen, a little over a mile distant, did most effective shooting and reduced Chang Hsun's house and barracks to a mass of burning debris in a very few hours.

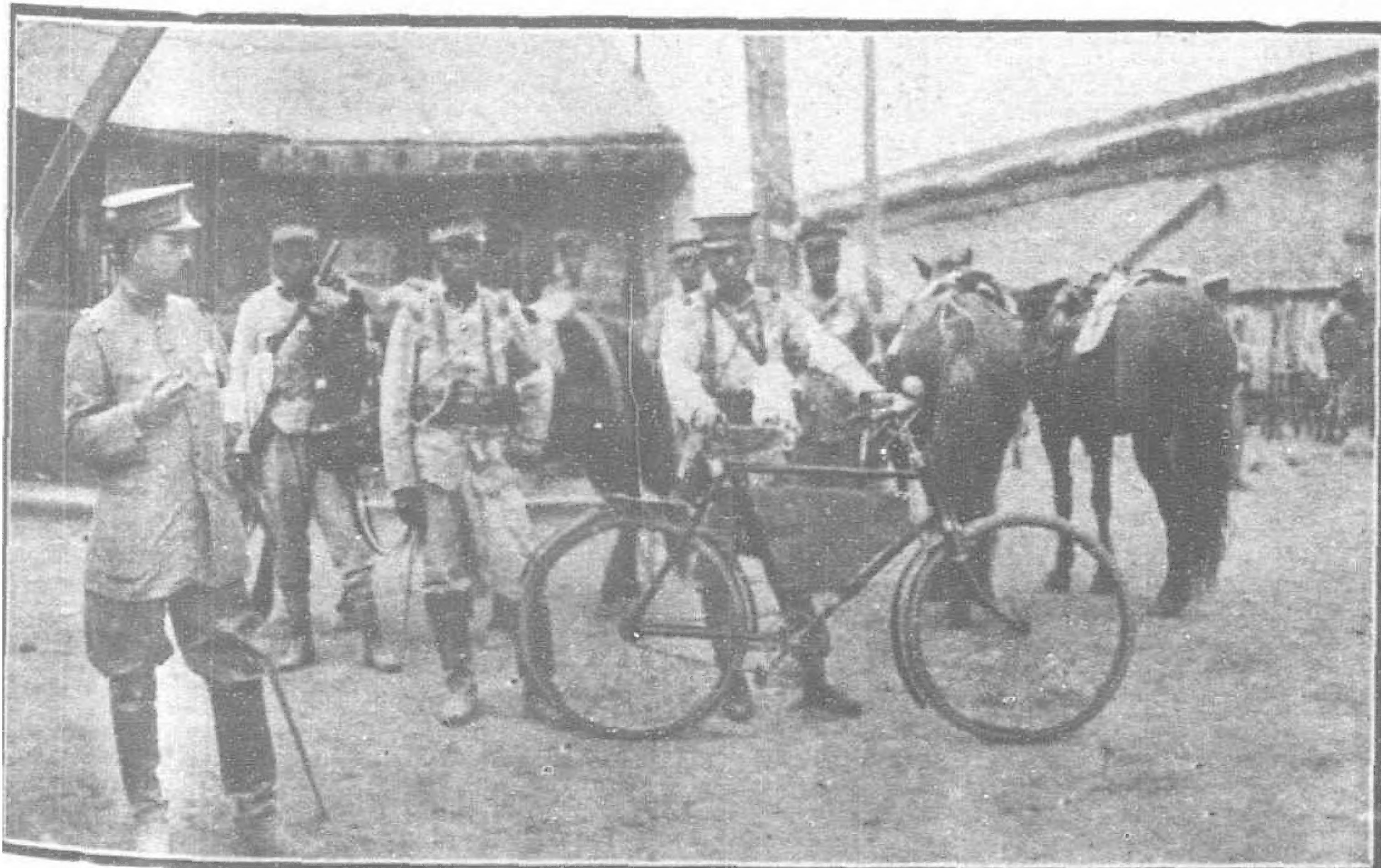
The most spectacular events of the day, however, were the flights of the inmates of the destroyed house and their reception in the Legation Quarter; and the ways and means of these flights are still subject to dispute and discussion. The stories told by Chang Hsun's own men and by foreigners who were at the Dutch Legation when Chang Hsun arrived are, perhaps, the most credible.

Shortly after the surrender of the force at the Temple of Heaven Chang Hsun's big house in the Nanhoyen was subjected to such a violent bombardment that it was deemed necessary to take the women and children into the Legation Quarter. Early

in the fighting, according to Chang Hsun's followers, a message had come from the Dutch Minister, offering sanctuary to the family at any time. The senior wife was, however, very unwilling to leave, and as Chang Hsun himself had made up his mind to perish with all his men rather than yield, the women, too, determined to stay.

The General's first secretary, Wan Sheng-shih, made up his mind, however, when the bombardment became severe, that the children should be taken out; so, shortly after 9 o'clock he went into the Legation Quarter and appealed at the Japanese Legation Quarter for a motor car and an escort. He waited for some time outside and then learned that the family, the two wives, six children, and nurses had already arrived. Sometime later he found that Chang Hsun himself had come to the Dutch Legation and he was asked to use his influence to stop the firing. Shortly after Wan's departure, Chang Hsun's adjutant, Liu Shih-ching, became aware of the danger to the women and children, and taking the elder wife in his arms he called upon the women and children to follow him and ran into the street where he put his burden in a ricksha, ordered the others to accompany him on foot, and went through the firing line with his charges as far as the Morrison street entrance to the Legation Quarter, where Chang Hsun's small car overtook him and relieved him of his care. In this same car he returned to the Nanhoyen where he found the house in flames and the General with a wounded officer named Chu.

Chang Hsun's officers crowded about him, knelt before him and begged him to leave, but he was obdurate, and it was not until two Germans, supposedly sent by the Dutch Minister, arrived in a motor car and fairly dragged him out of the house and into the motor car that he could be got away. It was then under the misapprehension that he was going to a discussion of terms of peace, and not as a refugee that he consented to go at all. Having arrived at the Dutch Legation he was told that he was an interned prisoner, much to his indig-



TYPES OF REPUBLICAN TROOPS

nation. He and his family were later removed to the German barracks under Dutch guard. Desultory firing continued for several hours, but the Tingwu in the Nanchihtze were finally persuaded to surrender, and steps were taken at once to have them disarmed and sent to Shantung by train.

A vast overflow of the city's population swept about the scenes of the fighting as soon as firing had ceased and the punitive troops were marched away, and the Chinese looked about in disappointed astonishment at the "battle-fields" which they expected to find heaped with corpses but which were marked by some slight damage to property only and by the bodies of the few unfortunates who had contrived to get in the way of low rifle shots. Chang Hsun's magnificent residence was gutted by fire and the neighboring building suffered somewhat from shell fire. A few dead horses marked the barracks, and an overturned motor car in a ditch, a litter of cartridge clips and shell fragments marked the district as a scene of violence, but the total number of casualties did not compare with the usual number of dead and wounded after a village clan fight, and the populace realized at once that it had been treated to a stupendous farce throughout.

The few dragon flags which were still flying on the afternoon of the battle came down that night and the following day the whole city was gay once more with the five-barred republican banners. The Tingwu were quietly disarmed and removed by train, after being liberally paid for their trouble, and the whole incident was considered closed. On the 15th Premier Tuan arrived with his suite, President Li emerged from the Legation Quarter, and China entered upon a new era of Republicanism with its accompaniment of soul trying politics.

The question of the responsibility of the Manchu Imperial Family, the matter of demanding an edict of abdication, the disposition of Chang Hsun's person and property, and the treatment due his colleagues, the possibility of an investigation into the Tingwu leader's charges of encouragement and desertion against Vice-President Feng Kuo-chang, Ex-Premier Hsu Shih-chang, and a host of military leaders, are all matters of discussion and much heart searching.

While foreign opinion was for the most part opposed to the restoration movement, Chang Hsun, by his very obstinacy and his courage in defying a large army with an ill-equipped force of 3,000 men, won not only some sympathy but credence for his assertion that he had been cheated and betrayed by his military colleagues. For this charge there must be more or less foundation, for Chang Hsun, with all his mediaevalism and his stubborn assurance, would scarcely have attempted to re-establish the monarchy with no more military backing than his own 3,000 braves, ill-supplied with ammunition, money, and food resources. It seems more than likely now that, in a season of wrath against the Li Yuan-hung regime, the Tuchuns promised Chang Hsun their support, and encouraged him to assume the initiative as he says they did. They would naturally assume, after Tuan Chi-jui's dismissal from office, that he would not take the field at Li Yuan-hung's call and reinstate the Republic as a matter of personal principle and good faith. But General Tuan responded with a celerity and vigour at the very inception of the Imperial government which left the disaffected Tuchuns little time to choose their course. They had either to follow and support Chang Hsun or to throw in their lot with Tuan Chi-jui. Both are strong, vigorous characters, but where the question of military influence and prestige enter in, there is no comparison between them. There was nothing to do but follow Tuan and help to push Chang Hsun to his fate, and this they seemingly did with a right good grace, probably with the knowledge that a less popular victim could scarcely have been chosen and one whose downfall would be likely to have fewer avengers.

Although many Imperial clansmen were certainly deeply involved in the plot to reinstate their Emperor, it is equally certain that the immediate advisers about the person of Hsuan Tung and the Dowager Chin were for the most part opposed to the restoration from the beginning and that in the latter days

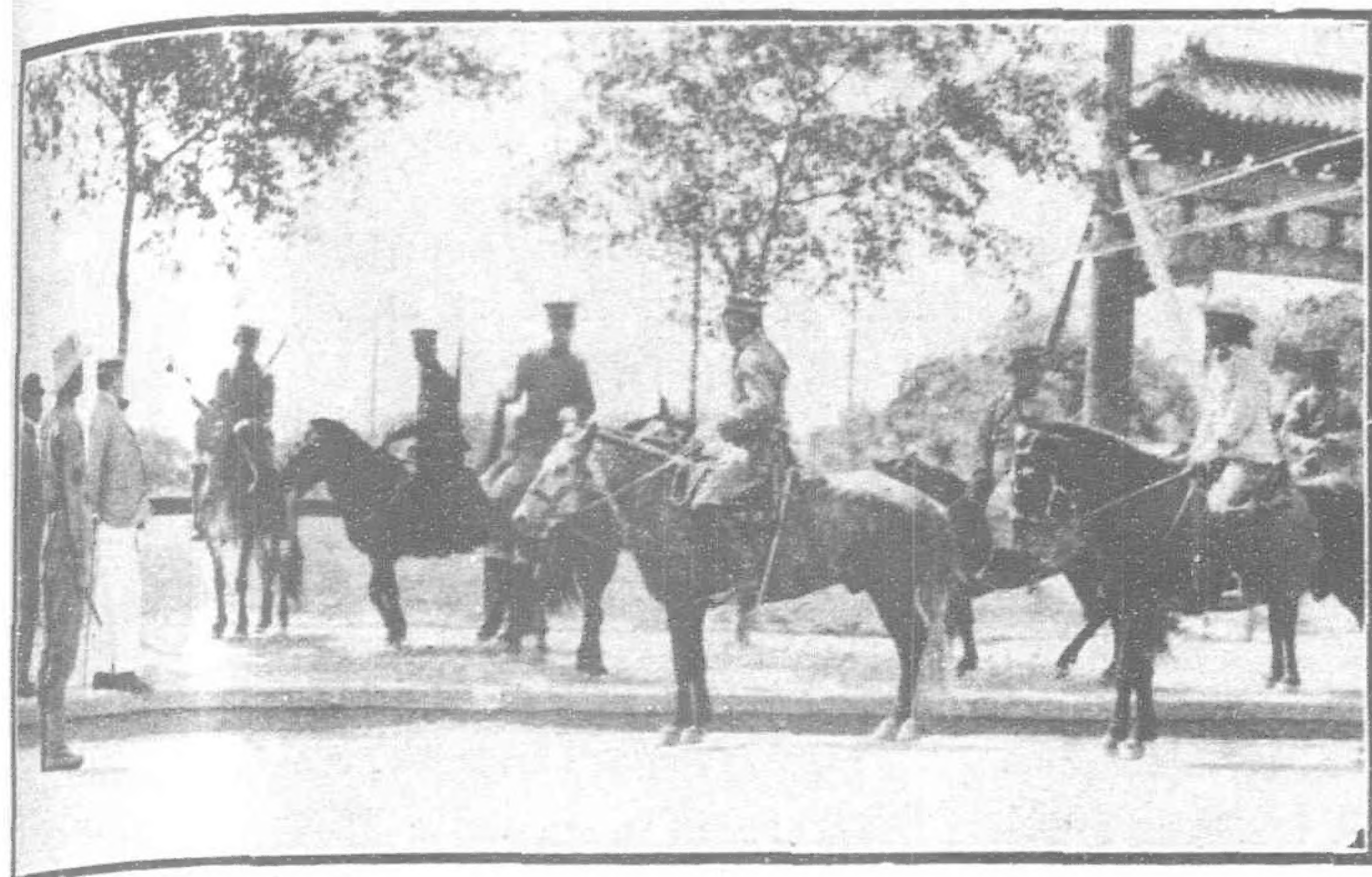
they used all their influence to get Chang Hsun out of Peking and to publish an edict of abdication.

On Friday, July 7, an edict was prepared ordering Chang Hsun to return to Hsuehowfu, but, as this was manifestly impossible at the time, a compromise was reached and the following day Chang Hsun's own resignation from his high posts—High Commissioner of the Council of Regency, Viceroy of Chihli, and Imperial Commissioner of Peiyang—was published and news of the drafting of an edict of abdication leaked out of the Palace. This never appeared, and it is not the policy of the Republicans now to demand such an edict. Since there is no reason to be particularly hard upon the Manchus it is considered better policy to ignore the existence of an Empire and to treat the whole series of incidents as a series of outrages perpetrated by Chang Hsun, as much upon the Imperial Family as upon the Republic. If the Emperor has authority, as Emperor, to abdicate, they argue, he confesses by the exercise of this authority his complicity in the Chang Hsun restoration.

The disposition that is to be made of Chang Hsun is a matter upon which no one has any definite thoughts or theories, for his situation is a peculiar one. It seems perfectly clear now that he came into the Legation Quarter by invitation, and that at the time of his arrival he was received and interned as a political refugee, which entitles him to continued protection from his enemies. The Republicans, however, have consistently advertised him as a traitor and a criminal, entitled to none of the privileges of a political refugee or a vanquished soldier, and there is much gossip about extradition and the possibility of his surrender to the legal or military authorities.

If the brief period of Empire has done nothing else it has surely brought forth a strong new crop of political problems and has materially changed the relative position of every political party in China. The commanding figure of the whole situation is Tuan Chi-jui, who left Peking, a very few weeks before the establishment of the Empire, discredited, almost in disgrace, a high and powerful official summarily dismissed from office. Now there is not a Chinese in China who knows anything of recent events, who is not aware that but for Tuan Chi-jui there would still be a monarchy, and very likely a monarchy backed by such powerful military support that it would have required the South months and even years to have shaken its foundations. Thanks to his prompt and unequivocal stand, the *opera bouffe* Empire was swept from the political stage in less than two weeks and a thoroughly organized government, republican in name and pledged to republican institutions, is once more established in Peking. It is gall and wormwood to his opponents no doubt, the last of all possible contingencies anticipated, yet in the face of the world's scrutiny Tuan's most violent enemies are restrained for the moment from attacking personally the man who has handed their Republic back to them.

Tuan Chi-jui is in a position to command unlimited respect and to wield great power, and if his political appointments and his movements in reshaping the government are controlled by a little tact and diplomacy, he may be given a fair chance by his political enemies to shape a strong and efficient government in Peking. He owes the southerners, the radicals, the Kuomintang folk, and the parliamentarians, no favours and no concessions as a private individual or as a politician; but as the governor of a huge chaotic state, which even a war lord of his capacity cannot hope to police adequately with his northern troops, he owes China a promise of peace and political harmony, and without some conciliation and a few favours bestowed upon his political opponents, he will fail in this duty and may even force the irreconcilable South to a division which would be fatal to China. The Imperial restoration has had this single portentous result; it has brought Tuan Chi-jui back as the strongest man in China, it has put the future of China and perhaps its ultimate fate in his hand; and it now remains to be seen whether this man of admitted honesty and determination has also the tact and the political finesse to deal competently with so responsible a charge.



CHANG HSUN'S MOUNTED MEN NEAR THE LEGATION QUARTER DURING THE ATTACK



REPUBLICAN SOLDIERS AFTER THEIR VICTORY OVER CHANG HSUN'S TROOPS

The Documents in the Case

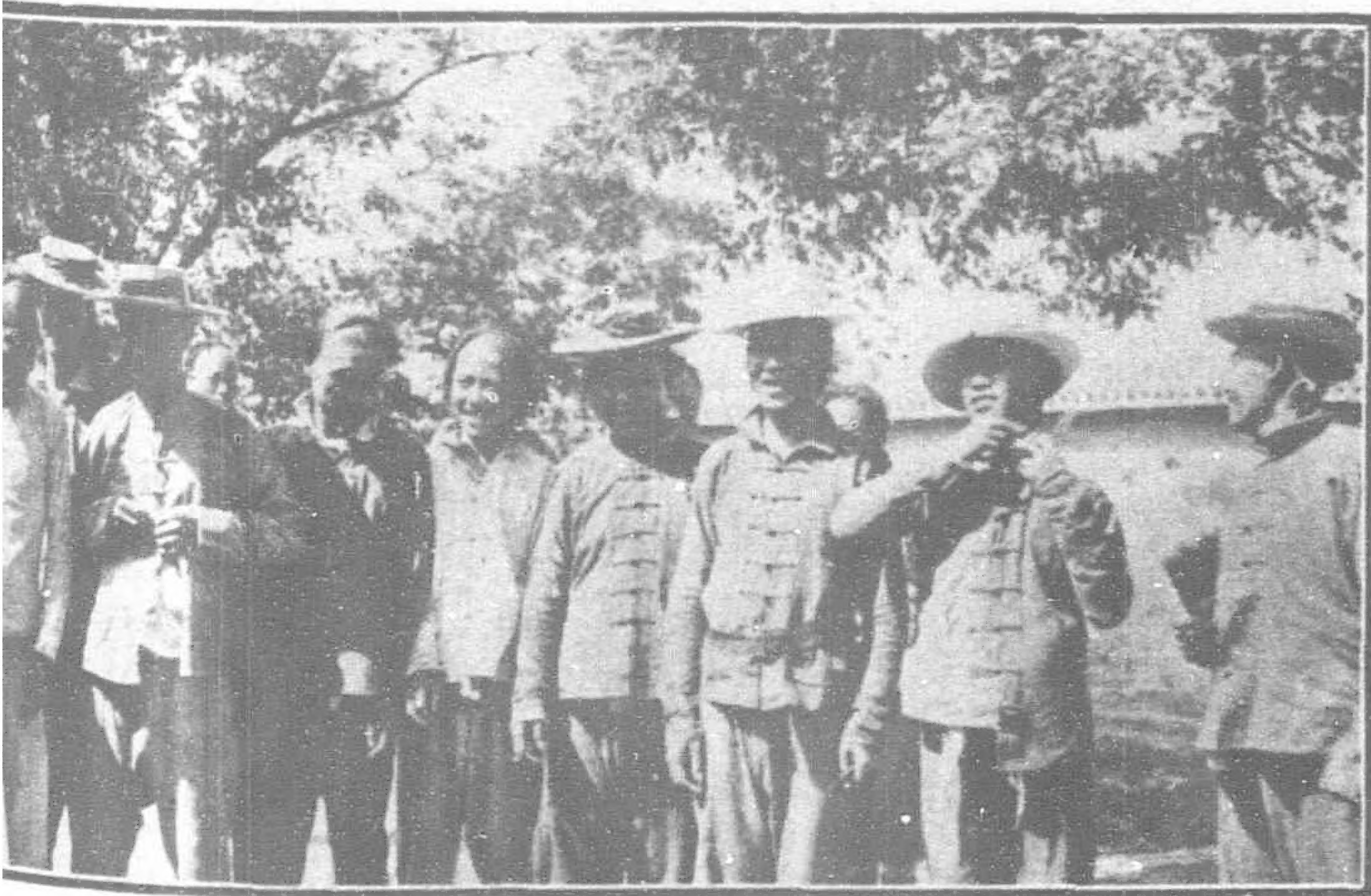
Imperial Decree Justifying Restoration

The following is the first Imperial Decree following the restoration. It will be noted that the date is that of the Dynasty, the Republican date being abandoned.

Imperial decree issued this the thirteenth day of the fifth month of the ninth year of Hsuan Tung:—

Whereas we, unfortunately, succeeded to the imperial throne when we were still in childhood, we constantly felt grieved owing to lack of our ability to cope with the many difficulties of the times. In the year Hsinhai when the Revolution broke out, her imperial majesty the late Empress-Dowager, moved by her highest moral quality and deep love for humanity and being unwilling to allow the people to undergo misery and sufferings, magnanimously entrusted to the former Minister of State, Yuan Shih-k'ai, the bequest of her majesty's imperial ancestors together with the lives of millions of her subjects, ordering him to establish a Provisional Government so that her imperial majesty might be enabled to abdicate and vest the powers of government in the people of the whole Empire, anarchy might be suppressed and the people might enjoy peace and tranquillity. However, since the republican form of government was adopted, political struggles and civil war have repeatedly visited the country, robbery and extortions have been committed with impunity and bribery and corruption have been practised openly. The annual revenue has been increased to \$400,000,000 and yet there is still fear of a deficit, whilst foreign loan obligations now amount to over \$1,000,000,000 and are still increasing. As a consequence, complaints have been heard throughout the country and the people are down-hearted and weary of life.

Thus, the abdication of her late imperial majesty, which was carried out to relieve the conditions of her majesty's subjects, has been taken advantage of to exacerbate their sufferings. This result was entirely unanticipated by her late imperial majesty and must be disturbing the tranquillity of her departed spirits. We, confined in the Imperial Palaces as we have been, have daily prayed Heaven to show us a way out of this misfortune. Recently, owing to the renewal of disputes between different political parties which again precipitated civil war, the minds of the people throughout the Empire have been agitated. Thus the republican form of government has proved to be unworkable and no means of saving the Empire has been available. Chang Hsun, Feng Kwo-chang, Lu Yun-ting have jointly memorialized us submitting the view that as the foundation of the country has been shaken and the people are anxious to return to the old halcyon days we should re-ascend the imperial throne in order to save the souls of millions of our subjects, etc. Another memorial was submitted by Chu Hung-chi and others stating that as the state is now in danger and the minds of the people are wandering we should again hold the reins of government so as to obey the will of Heaven, etc. Li Yuan-hung also memorialized us begging to be allowed to hand back to us the government for the welfare of the nation, etc. We have perused the several memorials and are deeply moved by them and we find that they all express their genuine feelings. Whilst not wishing to trust the heavy responsibility of maintaining the existence of a great Empire to our youthful person and delicate constitution we are unwilling to disregard the sufferings of the



TYPES OF CHANG HSUN'S TROOPS



THE REMAINS OF CHANG HSUN'S HOUSE



HSU SHIH-CHANG, FORMER PREMIER UNDER THE MANCHU HOUSE
WHO WAS MADE PRESIDENT OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL
BY THE RESTORED EMPEROR

people merely on the ground of protecting the interests of our family, so that after carefully weighing the situation we cannot but obey the will of Heaven and consider the wishes of the people. We have now decided to re-ascend the Throne on the thirteenth day of the fifth month of the ninth year of Hsuan Tung and will begin life with our people anew. Henceforth the sense of duty and the religion of loyalty shall be the basis of our unwritten constitution, and we shall endeavour to regenerate the people by inculcating in them good manners, honour, integrity and self-respect. All officials, high and low, shall meet one another with sincerity and we shall not merely adhere to the letter of the law in carrying out the administration of the country. We shall search our hearts before any decree is issued, lest we be in the wrong, for we have no desire to endanger the nation simply to satiate our own desires. Moreover, at a time like this, when every department of the government presents an air of instability and the vitality of the nation has almost been exhausted and when a question concerning the existence of the Empire is engaging our attention we shall proceed with our work with the utmost care as if we were passing a deep precipice or treading on thin ice. We dare not take delight in the mere fact of re-assuming Imperial powers and thereby allow ourself to live a life of pleasure. You, Ministers of all ranks, should discharge your respective duties with a clean conscience and rid yourselves of all corrupt habits. If you all bear in mind the sufferings of the people and exert your utmost to enable the people to earn their livelihood you will be prolonging the life of the nation. It is only by so doing that you can avert the extinction of the nation and secure the sympathy and guidance of Heaven. Urgent matters concerning the government of the country have, in consequence of the revival of the Imperial Government, been decided as follows:

1.—In accordance with the Decree of the late Emperor Kwang Hsu the powers of government shall be vested in the Imperial Government—but all matters concerning the administration shall be decided in accordance

with the tendency of public opinion. The country shall be known as the Taching Empire and the form of government shall be modelled after the best examples obtaining in foreign countries, namely, a limited monarchy.

2.—With regard to the expenses of the Imperial Household a sum of \$4,000,000 shall be annually appropriated as already fixed. This sum shall on no account be exceeded.

3.—In accordance with the system handed down by the founder of our dynasty members of the imperial family shall be precluded from interfering in administrative affairs.

4.—All class or racial distinctions between Manchus and Chinese shall be abolished and official posts formerly created for the benefit of Mongol or Manchu officials that have already been abolished shall not be re-established. As regards intermarriage between Manchus and Chinese and other affairs connected with the co-ordination of social customs, responsible officials will be appointed to draft detailed provisions for our approval.

5.—All treaties formally signed with foreign countries previous to this day of the fifth month of the ninth year of Hsuan Tung and all loan agreements on which money has been paid to the Government shall continue to be valid.

6.—The system of raising revenue by stamps established by the Republic shall be abolished forthwith in order to relieve the financial stringency of the people. With regard to other forms of oppressive taxation the Viceroys and Governors of the various provinces are hereby ordered to make investigations and report to us where abolition is necessary.

7.—The penal code of the Republic is in many respects not suitable for the country, therefore it should be forthwith abolished. In the meantime the penal code promulgated in the first year of Hsuan Tung shall now be temporarily in force.



KANG YU-WEI, FORMER TUTOR OF EMPEROR KWANG HSU, WHO ASSISTED
CHANG HSUN IN RESTORING THE MANCHU EMPEROR, APPOINTED
VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL

8.—The evil practice of organizing political parties shall be abolished and prohibited and all political offenders are hereby pardoned. As regards those who deliberately cause themselves to be forsaken by the people by creating disturbances of the peace we dare not hereby grant an amnesty.

9.—All our Ministers and subjects, whether or not they have cut off their queues, shall have perfect liberty to wear their hair according to their individual taste as set forth in an imperial decree issued in the ninth month of the third year of Hsuan Tung.

We hereby solemnly declare that we shall observe and obey the above nine conditions together with our people. Heaven and Earth witness our declaration. This decree is issued for the information of all our people.

(Signed) CHANG HSUN,

High Minister of the Council of Regency.

Forged Memorial from Li Yuan-hung

Imperial decree issued this the thirteenth day of the fifth month of the ninth year of Hsuan Tung:

In a memorial submitted to us, Li Yuan-hung begs to be allowed to hand back to us the government and implores us to re-assume control of the Empire. In the memorial the said official states that he was coerced to usurp great powers by his troops during the mutiny and that as Chief Executive of the country he has failed to ameliorate the conditions of the people. He describes in detail the many evils that have arisen since the republican form of government was adopted. He begs us to re-assume control of the imperial government in order to save the souls of the people and says that as a servant of the Emperor he awaits punishment. In perusing his memorial we find that his words come really from his heart and that he has spoken with sincerity. Since it was not his original intention to follow the revolutionists he has acted according to the principle of loyalty in restoring to us the govern-



LIANG TING-FAN, TUTOR TO THE EMPEROR

ment. At a time of danger like the present when the whole nation is tottering, it is a highly commendable act on the part of the said official to lead the people how to show their loyalty to their superiors and in saving the nation from grave dangers. The merits of the said official are really great and we are pleased in our heart. We hereby create Li Yuan-hung a First Class Duke in order to show our appreciation for his services. We hope he will benefit by our favour and live long to enjoy the blessings from Heaven.

CHANG HSUN,

High Minister of the Council of Regency.

Council of Regency Appointed

Imperial decree issued this the thirteenth day of the fifth month of the ninth year of Hsuan Tung:

As this is the beginning of the revival of the imperial government a Council of Regency is hereby established composed of High Ministers of the Council in order to assist in the administration and carry out the functions of a responsible Cabinet, and two Grand Secretaries of the Council are appointed. Apart from these changes the system of government in Peking and the provinces shall temporarily be the same as that obtaining in the first year of Hsuan Tung. All civil and military officials in the Capital and provinces shall discharge their duties as usual.

CHANG HSUN,

High Minister of the Council of Regency.

Separate decree appointed Chang Hsun, Wang Shih-chen, Chen Pao-chen, Liang Ten-yen, Liu Ting-chen, Yuan Ta-hua, and Chang Chen-fang as High Ministers of the Council of Regency.

Wan Shen-shih and Hu Chi-yuen were appointed Grand Secretaries of the Council of Regency.

The Secretaries of State

Liang Ten-yen was appointed Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Chang Chen-fang was appointed Secretary of State for Finance.



GENERAL WANG SHIH-CHEN, CHIEF OF STAFF, WHO PROFESSED TO DISAPPROVE THE ACTION OF THE TUCHUNS AND REMAINED IN PEKING AS ADVISER TO THE PRESIDENT

Wang Shih-chen was appointed Chief of the General Staff.

Lai Chen-chung was appointed Secretary of State for War.

Chu Chia-pao was appointed Secretary of State for Home Affairs. Previous to his arrival Wu Ping-hsiang was appointed Acting Secretary of State for Home Affairs.

Elder Statesmen

Hsu Shih-chang was appointed President of the Pi-Teh Yuan. Kang Yu-wei was appointed Vice-President of the Pi-Teh Yuan (Council of Elder Statesmen).

Provincial Viceroys

Chang Hsun was appointed Viceroy of Chihli and Imperial Commissioner of Peiyang (North China) and ordered to remain in the Capital to discharge his duties.

Feng Kwo-chang was appointed Viceroy of Liang Kiang (Kiangsu and Kiangsi) and Imperial Commissioner of Nanyang (South China).

Lu Yung-ting Viceroy of Liang Kwang.

Tsao Kun Governor of Chihli.

Chi Yao-ling Governor of Kiangsu.

Ni Shih-chung Governor of Anhwei.

Chang Huai-chi Governor of Shantung.

Yen Shih-shan Governor of Shansi.

Chao Ti Governor of Honan.

Li Shun Governor of Kiangsi.

Yang Shan-teh Governor of Chekiang.

Chen Ping-kun Governor of Kwangtung.

Tan Hao-ming Governor of Kwangsi.

Wang Chan-yuan Governor of Hupeh.

Li Hou-chi Governor of Fukien.

Tang Chi-yao Governor of Yunnan.

Liu Hsien-shu Governor of Kweichow.

Yang Cheng-hsin Governor of Hsinking.

Chang Kwang-chien Governor of Kansu.

Chang Tso-ling Governor of Fengtien.

Meng Un-yuan Governor of Kirin.

Hsu Lan-chow Governor of Heilungkiang.

Liu Jen-hou Governor of Szechwan.

Chen Hsu-fan Governor of Shensi.

Chiang Kwei-ti Lieutenant-General of Jehol.

Wang Pei-huan Lieutenant-General of Suiyuen.

Tien Chung-yu Lieutenant-General of Charhar.

Military and Naval Chiefs

Wang Ting-chen was appointed General in Command of Troops in Kiangpei.

Lu Yung-hsiang was appointed General in Command of Troops in Kiangnan.

Chang Ching-yao was appointed Admiral Commander of the Yangtze

Chang Hsun and Company Explain Themselves

The following telegram was sent to the various provinces by Chang Hsun and Company to explain the coup d'etat:

Specially Urgent. To General Feng Kwo-chang, etc., etc., etc.—The political situation of the country has so developed that serious disturbances have taken place. Before the military operations in Mongolia have been over, intelligence of disquiet in the South has been reported. The Central Government has lost control of the provinces, and the condition of the people has become most deplorable. Both internal and external troubles have come in succession. No one can predict what will happen in the future. The administration of national affairs is similar to the work of a doctor in effecting the cure of some disease, and we shall protect the country as we do our bodies. We must first of all understand the cause of the trouble and then apply the right remedy. As we are all in a common danger, we must act with one accord in effecting the salvation of the nation. Hence we, Hsun, etc., make the following declaration:

After the mutiny of Wuchang, a republican form of government was introduced. Old and experienced men have retired from the Government Service, and the violent have succeeded them. All principles have been destroyed: robbers and highwaymen have been regarded as

heroes, and dead criminals have been worshipped as martyrs in the National Cause. Parliament was backed up by rebels and Cabinet Ministers were protected by political *tangs*. The only business of the so-called financiers was the borrowing of foreign money and heavy taxes were imposed upon the poverty-stricken people. Their self-government system was to oppress the good and innocent people, and their policy was to reject the services of men of experience and ability. Rumours and false reports were accepted as public opinion, under the enforcement of foreign policy they betrayed the secrets to foreign nations. They committed treason against the nation and used the legislative organ to advance their own interest. They invited the displeasure of gods, by abolishing the Confucian Religion. They violated established principles, thus reducing themselves to brute beasts.

Consequently morality was banished from society, and laws and systems were abolished. The influence of "tufei" has grown and the hunger-stricken people are all over the cities. After paying proper taxes, farmers have to pay extra levies, and merchants have to be robbed both by officials and robbers. Officials holding responsible positions have practised corruption openly, and bribery has become a daily occurrence. Although this is called Min Kuo (people's country) they have never cared for the people (Min), and although they styled themselves Kuo Ming (people of country), they have not loved their country (Kuo). To-day the people have become exceedingly poor and the foundation of the nation has been undermined on account of the financial situation.

What is the chief cause of the present disaster? It is because we have not had a good form of State. The recent trouble was caused by a slight mistake made by the Central Government: but if there were a good Government, it would never come at all. It was a surprise to notice that the mistake had proved a spark for the great conflagration, which in one or two days spread all over the country. The independence of Inner Mongolia has not yet been cancelled and the trouble in the South is expected every moment. Although Parliament has been dissolved, there is still no Government, and the orders of the Prime Minister, who has just taken up his post, are not respected outside the walls of the Capital, as his appointment has not been recognized both by foreigners and Chinese. Members of Parliament have all considered Presidential Mandates as null and void. The real cause of insubordination is the uselessness of the Republic. According to the Republican principle, the President is to be elected by the people, but the system has encouraged undue ambition among the people. As provided for in the law, he is to be elected every five years, and every election is followed by disturbances for more than one year.

Whenever there is a change of Prime Minister, there is always trouble for months. But in the case of a monarchy the people might enjoy peace and tranquillity for hundreds of years without interruption. By comparison, the difference may easily be seen. Some people say that as the form of the State has been fixed, it will only cause more trouble to introduce changes, therefore, it will be advisable to retain the present President or to elect a new one. But the whole country has protested against the violation of the Constitution by the President, and it is impossible to maintain his position. We must endeavour to allow him to retire, and not to place him in a dangerous position. We love him, therefore we have chosen the lesser evil for him.

As to the suggestion of electing a new President, it is difficult to fix the choice, because the high officials possess equal influence and power, and as regards the people, we cannot find a man with sufficient influence. The post of President is of great importance. In a recent case we found that a man who had ability but was without character, would make use of his position to compass his personal ends; but lately, a man who had character without ability, had only been made a tool by others. Moreover, there are differences between the opinions of the people of the North and the South. If the President-Elect be a Northerner, the Southerners will raise objections, and *vice versa*.

If a civil quarrel should commence, the nation will perish. A careful study of the circumstances will convince one that it would be advisable to sacrifice personal differences and to establish a strong monarchy, which will survive the struggle among the Powers of the world. The nations of the east and the west have all been convinced of the advantage of the monarchical form of government. For thousands



WU PING-SHAN, HEAD OF THE PEKING POLICE, APPOINTED ACTING PRESIDENT OF THE MANCHU BOARD OF INTERIOR

of years, China has been a monarchy, and good and wise Emperors of all dynasties have left worthy footprints to us. Their system of administration has been far better than that of any other foreign nation. Therefore, in view of the circumstances, it is advisable for us to have a monarchy, and, in compliance with the teachings of the sages, it is better for us to restore our former Emperor.

The Great Tsing Family established its dynasty in a most just and fair way, and it saved the people from water and fire. It established its Throne in China by a fairer method than the dynasties of Han and Tang. It had nine Emperors. The first Emperor was a most accomplished scholar and military man, and when Kuang Hsu ascended the Throne, the situation of the nation was most critical, but he worked indefatigably to improve the condition of the nation. He compiled the records of past Emperors, and showed their good governments, such as to reduce the rate of taxes, and grant funds from the Palace treasury. Their love for the people surpassed any of the Emperors of the past dynasties.

In the year Hsin Hai (1911) the Empress Dowager was willing to sacrifice the glory of her family in order to save the people from misery. She won the admiration of the people, and indeed she did not lose her Empire. In ancient times Shao Kang with the assistance of a handful of followers restored the Hsia Dynasty, and Hsuang Wang with the assistance of Chaopo, restored the Chow Dynasty. They were admired by posterity.

During the time of abdication, it was ordered that a provisional Government be established to make a trial of the republican form of government. It was thought that the Republic would secure greater happiness for the people, but after a trial of six years we have now troubles in succession. Therefore an Imperial Edict has now been issued to receive back the administrative power.

Although we have less troubles than at the time of Hsia and Chow Dynasties, we have reaped better advantages. Recently our Emperor was applying himself to study during his minority, and although there were serious disturbances everywhere, there was perfect peace reigning in his palace. His education has been much improved, and his fame has spread far and wide. It is evident that Heaven has maintained the line of the Family and endowed His Majesty with special wisdom. There is no doubt that he will be able to save the situation, and to continue the works of his fathers.

We, Hsun and others, have been working hard for the past six years, awaiting the opportunity. We are afraid that the country might be in danger, and of late we have gathered ourselves together in Peking on account of the political trouble. We do not like to temporise: but we like to lay a foundation for thousands of years to come. We

have shown the history of the past and the present circumstance: and are convinced that both Heaven and men have fixed their minds on you. We have consulted with the civil and military officials both in the Capital and the provinces and have found that they have unanimously agreed with us. Therefore to-day we memorialized the Emperor requesting his Majesty to ascend the Throne again. Thus the foundation of the nation is laid and the heart of the people is settled. The spirits of the dead sage

Emperors in Heaven will be comforted and the heart of the people will be satisfied. We all are ex-officials of the Tsing Family, and received great favours from the Imperial House, and all the troops, people, etc., are men who eat the grains grown upon His Majesty's earth and tread upon His Majesty's ground. Therefore on receipt of this telegram you should use the proper calendar, and hoist dragon flags. At this critical juncture it is imperative that we all should act with one accord to effect the salvation of the nation. We should respect the Emperor and love our country, and hope that under the rule of Tsing Dynasty the nation will flourish and the people will prosper.

(Signed) Chang Hsun, Wang Shih-chun, Chiang Chao-chung, Chen Kuang-yuan, Li Chen-chai, Tsai Cheng-hsun, etc., etc.

General Chiang Chao-tsung's Disclaimer

The following is the *Peking Gazette's* translation of a statement issued by General Chiang Chao-tsung, Commander-in-Chief of the Metropolitan Gendarmerie, which gives an interesting ac-



LIANG TUN-YEN APPOINTED BY THE MANCHUS PRESIDENT BOARD FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND MEMBER OF PRIVY COUNCIL



JEME TIEN-YU APPOINTED BY THE MANCHUS PRESIDENT BOARD OF COMMUNICATIONS

count of his experiences in connexion with the monarchist restoration:—

In response to the invitation of the President, Chang Hsun came to the Capital declaring himself as a mediator. Being busily occupied by my official duties, I have had little time for social intercourse with him. Wherever I met him at dinner I have never heard him talk about the Ching Imperial Family. On the 30th of the 6th month, the provincials of Kiangsi gave a dinner at the Kiangsi Guild in honour of Chang Hsun to which I was also invited. I returned home that night at 10 o'clock and retired at 12. Shortly after I retired to bed, I received information from the guards at the An-tien-men that one regiment of troops belonging to the 2nd Brigade asked for admission into the city. Presently another report was received from the guards at the Hsi-chi-men to the effect that the troops of the 13th Division also requested permission for admittance into the city. Upon receipt of this information, I ordered by telephone the officers and soldiers guarding these gates to refuse their entry. At the same time inquiries were made of Brigade Commanders Wu and Liu on the matter and the replies received were by no means clear. After being questioned more closely Brigade Commander Wu then informed me that these troops were on the march to other places. I then telephoned to Gen. Chen Kuang-yuen, Division Commander Li Ching-tsai, Brigade Commanders Wu and Liu, inviting them to my house to discuss the matter personally. Just then Gen. Wang, Chief of the General Staff, called at my house in a hurried manner. It was at 1.30 a.m. General Wang informed me that he had just received a secret message from Tsai Cheng-hsun, Commander-in-Chief of the First Division, stating that Chang Hsun had summoned troops to Peking preparatory to the restoration of the monarchy the same night. By that time Generals Chen and Li also arrived at my house and they corroborated the report.

I then instantly gave orders to the Commander of the Left Flank, Sheng Cheng-lin and the Commander of the Right Flank, Fu Lien-jui to proceed to the An-ting-men and Hsi-chi-men respectively with troops and instructing them to resist the entry of the troops outside the city. At the same time I telephoned to the President's Office, asking Lieutenant Tang to inform the President of the same. While we were discussing the matter, Lei Cheng-chun and Chang Chen-fang despatched a motor car for us with their cards. They invited us to attend a conference at Chang Hsun's house. I refused to go. A moment later Chang Hsun again despatched another motor car with four officers, requesting me to go over to his private residence. I still refused to go. But General Wang suggested that it would be better for us to go there together so that we could obtain some reliable information regarding the movement afoot. Then we went to Chang Hsun's residence, with Generals Chen and Li. On arriving at Chang Hsun's residence, we noticed that the guards at the door had their swords drawn and rifles loaded. They looked as if they were expecting to meet some strong enemy in the field. All our body-guards and attendants were refused admission.

Entering the house, we were ushered into a closet, where we found Brigade Commanders Wu and Li, Fang Sheng-hsi, Li Chiang-chang, Chang Chen-fang and Lei Cheng-chun were there. There were two others unknown to us. Chang Hsun was the first person who rose from his seat and inquired the reason why I refused the admission of the troops. I answered that I was responsible for the peace and tranquillity of the city, that the movement of troops into the city at midnight would certainly disturb the peace of the city and that in case the troops entering the city came into collision with the Ting Wu Chun (Chang Hsun's troops) or some other unforeseen occurrence should take place, who would be accountable for the consequences. I further pointed out to Chang Hsun that at a joint meeting between the Board of the General Staff and the Ministry of War, a resolution was passed to the effect that no troops should be permitted to enter the city unless there was some specific reason given for it and that no troops should be moved without orders written and sealed personally by the Chief of General Staff. I added that he had no cause to complain against my refusal to the entry of the troops into the city and asked him his reason for summoning the troops into the city.

Thereupon Chang declared his plan for restoring the Monarchy and added that the great movement had already been carried out to a successful issue, and that the majority of the persons seconded the coup and any

one objecting to this movement would not be permitted to leave the room. While saying this, Chang Hsun signalled to his attendants to watch our movements, Chang Hsun further showed great wrath on his face and said that those who dared to obstruct the movement should be dealt with by force. On hearing this I thrust the table aside and rose from my seat. I asked him a number of questions as to whether the Tu Chuns in the provinces would support his movement or not, if the President had ever expressed himself in sympathy with his plan, if he had the approval of the foreign Powers and if he could obtain the necessary financial support to carry out the movement. I further pointed out that the Imperial restoration was the last thing the Ching House desired; that if Chang Hsun really loved the Ching House, he should not take this step which, I emphasised, instead of being advantageous to the Ching House will certainly endanger the life of the boy ex-Emperor and seal the fate of the Manchu Imperial House, as his plan was undoubtedly opposed by the majority of the people of the Republic.

My words could in no way move Chang Hsun's decision. Instead of accepting them as friendly advice, Chang Hsun assumed an overbearing attitude towards me. He answered drily that the provinces had wired their support to the movement, in addition to their consent given at a conference held outside the Capital some time ago; that Liang Tun-yen will take charge of the diplomatic affairs of the restored dynasty, Chang Chen-fang the financial affairs, while the President should be dealt with by force should he object to the restoration. Chang Hsun further scornfully said that I had better not concern myself about the affairs regarding the Ching House. I engaged in a hot dispute with Chang Hsun which almost reached the breaking point. Lei Cheng-chun assumed still greater airs over me even than Chang Hsun, and his words were also full of menace. Chang Hsun then emphatically ordered me to open the city gates to let the troops in. I contended that since Chang Hsun had everything settled there was no necessity for more troops. As to his suggestion of dealing with the President by force, I pointed out that if force was ever used to coerce the President, Chang Hsun's movement could never win the popular support and there would, moreover, be imminent danger.

At the same time Gen. Wang also remonstrated with some wholesome advice to Chang Hsun, saying that the matter was a weighty one and that if Chang Hsun carried it out in such a rash manner, he would certainly repent of it. Gen. Wang's words were very pathetic and touching, but they failed to produce any impression upon Chang Hsun. The latter still insisted upon our support with the threat of using force. Seeing that further reasoning with Chang Hsun would not deter him, I left his place with Gen. Wang under the pretext of reporting the matter to the President. Generals Chen and Li also left Chang Hsun's residence on some other excuse. But Chang Hsun sent Li Chen-chang and Liang Ting-fen to watch our movements. They followed us to the President's Office to report the matter to the President.

I then made a plain statement of the facts as to what had happened that night concerning the restoration movement to the President, and General Wang and I jointly suggested to the President that a military conference should be held in the President's Office immediately so as to solve the question by military force if necessary. Before the President could take any step in this direction, day had already dawned and the troops which had been refused admission had already entered the city. Those who were serving in the President's Office were also informed of the restoration movement by that time.

After this Chang Hsun was reported to have said to others "if that fellow Chiang" did not refuse the entry of the troops into the city that night, he would have accomplished the monarchist coup before daybreak. This is believed to have also delayed the issue of the Imperial Edicts from the Ching House, which were not published until two o'clock the same afternoon. As to the forged telegram despatched by Chang Hsun, the latter did not even mention it to those who conferred with him, and naturally we had no knowledge of it. Incompetent and incapable, I have fully realised my fault and am ready to accept the share of blame for not being able to nip the trouble in the bud. The papers are now publishing accounts relating to the restoration movement on the 30th ultimo. Fearing that some authentic facts of the movement may be left unpublished, I hereby give the above plain statement of the case.

Imperial Edicts Remitting Back Taxes

A strong appeal for support by the proletariat was made in the following edict remitting land and poll taxes issued on the third day of the restoration:

During recent years many changes have taken place in connexion with government affairs and the people have been poor and destitute. Excessive taxation and unreasonable levies have been imposed but the treasury has been on many occasions empty. The thought of our poor subjects fills our heart with sympathy and pity. All arrears of land tax and poll tax due before the 9th year of Hsuan Tung are hereby exempted so that the accumulated burdens of the people may be lightened.

Tuan Chi-jui's Manifesto

Among the shower of manifestos opposing the monarchy was the following by Tuan Chi-jui:

To Vice-President Feng Kuo-chang, Inspector General of Wumin, Tuchuns, Governors, Tutungs, etc.

Heaven is chastening this country by the series of disturbances that have taken place. Chang Hsun, filled with sinister designs, has occupied the capital by bringing up his troops under the pretext of effecting a compromise with the astounding result that last night the Republican form of government was overthrown. The question of the form of Government is the very fundamental principle on which the national existence depends. It requires assiduous efforts to settle the form of government and once a decision has been reached on the subject, any attempt to change the same is bound to bring on unspeakable disasters to the country. To-day the people of China are much more enlightened and democratic in spirit than ever. It is, therefore, absolutely impossible to subjugate the millions by holding out to the country the majesty of any family.

When the Republic of China was being founded, the Tsing House, being well aware of the general inclinations of modern peoples, sincerely and modestly abdicated its power. Believing that such spirit deserved handsome recognition the people were willing to place the Tsing House under the protection of special treatment and actually recorded the covenant on paper, whereby contentment and honour were vouchsafed the Tsing House. Of the end of more than 20 dynasties of Chinese history, none can compare with the Tsing dynasty for peace and safety.

Purely for sake of satisfying his ambitions of self-elevation Chang Hsun and others have audaciously committed a crime of inconceivable magnitude and are guilty of high treason. Like Wang Mang and Tung Tso he seeks to sway the whole nation by utilising a young and helpless emperor. Moreover, he has given the country to understand that Li Yuan lung has memorialised the Tsing House that many evils have resulted from republicanism and that the ex-emperor should be restored to save the masses. That Chang Hsun has been guilty of usurpation and forging documents is plain and the scandal is one that shocks all the world.

Can it be imagined that Chang Hsun is actuated by a patriotic motive? Surely despotism is no longer tolerated in this stage of modern civilisation. Such a scheme can only provoke universal opposition. Five years have already passed since the friendly Powers accorded their recognition of the Chinese Republic and if we think we could afford to amuse ourselves with changes in the national fabric, we could not expect foreign powers to put up with such childishness. Internal strife is bound to invite foreign intervention and the end of the country will then be near.

Can it be possible that Chang Hsun has acted in the interest of the Tsing House? The young boy-emperor lives in peace and contentment and has not the slightest idea of ever ruling China again. It is known that his tutors have been warning him of the dangers of intriguing for power. That the boy-emperor has been dragged on the throne entirely against his own wishes is undeniable. History tells us that no dynasty can live for ever. It is an unprecedented privilege for the Tsing dynasty to be able to end with the gift of special treatment. How absurd to again place the Tsing house on the top of a high wall so that it may fall once more and disappear for ever.

Chi-jui, after his dismissal, resolved not to participate in political affairs, but as he has had a share, however insignificant, in the formation

of the Chinese Republic, and having served the Republic for so long he cannot bear to see its destruction without stretching out a helping hand. Further, he has been a recipient of favours from the defunct dynasty, and he can not bear to watch unmoved, the sight of the Tsing House being made the channel of brigandage with suicidal results. Wherever duty calls, Chi-jui will go in spite of the danger of death. You, gentlemen, are the pillars of the Republic of China and therefore have your own duties to perform. In face of this extraordinary crisis, our indignation must be one. For the interest of the country we should abide by our oath of unstinted loyalty; and for the sake of the Tsing House let us show sympathy by sane and wise deeds. I feel sure you will put forth every ounce of your energy and combine your efforts to combat the great disaster. Though I am a feeble old soldier, I will follow you on the back of my steed.

TUAN CHI-JUI.



GENERAL TUAN CHI-JUI WHO DIRECTED THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST CHANG HSUN

A Call to Arms by Tuan Chi-jui

The following call to arms then was issued by Tuan Chi-jui, as Commander in-Chief of the Expeditionary Force against Chang Hsun:—

In bitter tears, Tuan Chi-jui, Commander-in-Chief of the Expeditionary Force against the Rebels, begs to make the following declaration of righteousness to the whole world (country). Woe to us that Heaven has allowed such monsters to have been born and such disaster to chastise our land. Traitor Chang Hsun, true to his instinct of wolfish cunning, has usurped power at a critical moment. The coup, which took place on the 1st inst., is calculated to overthrow the country and disturb the capital. Heaven has lost its lustre of glory since god and men must unite in showing their indignation. Being born a cur he is by nature mean and pigheaded; and by means of his readiness to please he has been able to gradually work his way up to a high position. Ever since the days of the

establishment of the Republic he has arrogantly entrenched himself with a large force at a strategically important place, and openly refused to follow the uniform and insignia prescribed by the Republican Government. Demands are made for funds not sanctioned by law. On account of the terrorism of his troops travellers have refrained from going their way. His insatiable lust for money has filled his private purse to overflowing. All these crimes are well known to the entire world but on account of the numerous disturbances his execution has been delayed up till this day. Recently on account of a certain crisis the political situation was thrown into a little confusion. Under the pretext of mediation he knavishly made preparations to usurp the power of State. He forced the President to issue a mandate, summoning him to Peking, and when this was done he polluted the atmosphere of the capital with the presence of his abominable horde. Between his arrival in Peking and this day many statements have been made by him by wire but still he continued to hide himself behind the mask of protecting the Republic.

What is even yet more shocking is the quotation of memorials alleged to have been presented by President Li, Vice-President Feng, and Inspector General Lu, which was in reality a forgery of Chang Hsun himself. Our President, being the maker of the Republic, has sworn that he would live or die with the Republic. Although he has been during the last two days a prisoner, he never ceased to use the telephone or post, secretly telling Tuan Chi-jui that although he be kept in a cell he would not join the rebels. On the contrary he has ordered me and holds me responsible to at once restore the Republic to the disregard of all redtape. As to our Vice-President he, upon seeing the false edict, at once wired stating that his name had been falsely used and that he would under no circumstance recognise the same. Judging by this it is safe to say the allegation about Inspector General Lu must also be false. The so-called memorials and edicts are nothing more than forgeries hastily done under the shadow of a lamp in secrecy by Chang Hsun and his rebel accomplices. To openly publish such forgery in official documents for the purpose of deception should be recognised as melodrama not staged even by historic usurpers and notorious robbers such as those who forged petitions of designation (as in the case of Yuan Shih-kai) and conferred on himself the Nine Insignias (as in the case of Tsao Tsao the usurper of the Three Kingdoms).

The said traitor often says that he cannot forget his old master, and thus effectively hides himself behind false patriotism. We, who are servants of the Republic, are mostly officials of the old dynasty. Who can be called behind in their true affection for their old master? It is for the very reason that we are true men, who really appreciate the kindness of our old master that it behooves us to show our love in a sane and wise way. The ancients used to say, Be merry while you can. No dynasty is permanent. Read the history and find out how many dynasties and how many families have risen and fallen. Not a single family has been able to reign for ever or even to secure such a glorious end like the Ching dynasty. For their consideration for the people Heaven has seen fit to confer on them increased honour in return. It is the recognition of heaven which has enabled the person in power then to surrender the sovereignty in favour of not any other family, but of the whole country. And it was this act of magnanimity which has secured for the Imperial House the special treatment articles, which are to be on record and last for ever with the country. As we are not serving another family we have not violated our sense of loyalty. The fact that the old Ching dynasty has been able to enjoy its special honour shows that its old servants are giving in return. The world must recognise that nothing has been left undone which duty calls us to do. If it is to be said that nothing is patriotism short of imperial restoration, then Chang Hsun who has fed himself on the produce of the Republic for six years, must have been very disloyal to the Ching House during all these years. By his own word he was a traitor to the monarchy and he is now a traitor to the Republic. Such a wobbling traitor! Ah, even dogs would refuse to eat his flesh. If it be said that nothing is affection short of imperial restoration, then it must be said that one who really loves another person will never endanger the existence of the one whom he loves. Being not a member of our race (Chinese), situated in such a modern world of democracy and progressive civilisation, it is certainly highly dangerous for any one family to be at the top of a great country. Even though Chang Hsun may possess the strength of the archdevil he would not be able to undo

history by establishing an everlasting dynasty. Now since sooner or later the dynasty must perish when the day for such a disaster should come, it would be impossible for the dynasty to secure the special treatment even if the Imperial House should pray for it. Not only that, it is probable that the boy-emperor will not be able to maintain his own head and the descendants of the Ching House will be wiped away from the surface of the earth. What has the Ching House done to Chang Hsun that he wishes to destroy the Ching House with his own hand? Chang Hsun is therefore not only the enemy of the Republic but also the enemy of the Ching House.

For about a month Chi-jui has been able to rest on account of his dismissal. His original intention was to meditate on his short-comings and not to participate in political affairs. The coup has, however, stirred up the whole country, and telegrams have been received from the Vice-President as well as Tuchuns and Governors of the provinces, asking why he is doing nothing. Patriotic men, peace loving merchants and dutiful soldiers are surrounding him and in words dignified and true demand why he is not acting. Searching his own heart, Chi-jui stepped up and down his room not knowing what to say. Since he has been for many years an official of the Republic it is impossible for him to remain quiet when the existence of the country is in danger. On the other hand he also sees it is his duty to save the old dynasty from an untimely end as he was once its old servant. Last night, therefore, he inspected his troops at Machang, and this morning a conference of military officers of as many as six divisions was held. All unanimously agreed that we shall live or die with the Republic and will never live under the same sky with the rebel. For the convenience of directing military operations, Tuan Chi-jui was unfittingly elected Commander-in-Chief of the Expeditionary Force against the Rebel. As it is the call of duty I have not declined. As soon as the necessary preparations have been completed I shall speed to the capital to project the government.

President Li's Telegrams

After his refusal to join or acquiesce in the restoration, President Li Yuan-hung wired as follows to the Republican leaders to make his position clear:

To-day the Military Inspector General Chang Hsun led his army into the Capital to restore the Emperor to his Throne, and has cut off the means of communication. He sent Liang Ting-feng and others to my Palace trying to move me by persuasions. I strongly rejected their proposals. I believe that the Vice-President, who has devoted himself to the protection of the Republic will be able to save the situation.

Heaven has still been afflicting us with woes, and now we see that the monarchy has been restored. I was surprised to read in the Imperial Decrees that it was alleged that I, Yuan-hung, had presented a memorial to the Throne requesting that the administrative powers be restored to the Manchus. It was the will of the people of the Five Races to change the monarchy into a Republic and in order to remove misunderstanding, I hereby declare that as the trust has been reposed in me by the people of the country, I will be loyal to the Republic under all circumstances.

:(Signed) LI YUAN-HUNG.

Vice-President Asked to Act for Him

His telegram to the Vice-President read:—

The *coup d'état* took place very suddenly, and the foundation of the Republic has been shaken. Owing to lack of virtue, I did not rule the country with wisdom, and I express my deep regret to the citizens of the country. The situation in the Capital has become more and more serious, and as I am unable to manage political affairs, it is feared that the Republic will come to an end. As you have also been given a trust by the citizens of the nation, I hereby request that in accordance with the provisions of Article 42 of the Provisional Constitution and Article 5 of the Law on the Election of President, you should assume the office of President. At present, it is difficult to send to you the seal, etc., of the President. I have already appointed General Tuan Chi-jui to be Prime Minister, and I have requested him to devise means to convey my seal to you. Hereafter all measures of State shall be managed by you and General Tuan.

(Signed) LI YUAN-HUNG.

Tuan Chi-jui as Prime Minister

The following telegram was sent after his departure from the President's Palace:—

To the Vice-President, Tuchuns, etc.

The three circular telegrams I sent must by this time have reached you. I have already appointed Tuan Chi-jui Prime Minister, and have requested Feng Kwo-chang to assume my office in accordance with the Provisional Constitution. Before the latter takes up the post, Tuan Chi-jui is to attend to all State affairs. I have sent all seals, documents, etc., to Tientsin, where Tuan Chi-jui will transmit same to Nanking. Recently, all my bodyguards were suddenly replaced, and I was asked to quit the Palace without delay. Consequently, I have removed to hospital and hereafter you should obey the orders of Feng Kwo-chang and Tuan Chi-jui. I hope you all will act unitedly to save the nation.

(Signed) LI YUAN-HUNG.

Vice-President Fears Division of China

The following is part of a circular telegram which was sent by Feng Kwo-chang to Lu Yung-ting, the Tuchuns, the Commissioners for Defence, Garrison Commanders, Admiral Cheng Pi-kuang and the Special Envoy for Foreign Affairs in Shanghai:—

China was recognized by the Western Powers three years after the establishment of the Republic, and it is a very serious thing now to change the form of government, and by trying to turn the recognized republic into an unrecognized monarchy Chang Hsun is trying to cheat the world and is surprising everybody. This is entirely unwise. There have been a great many troubles in China during these years. There has been drought and financial stringency in every part of China on account of which people, both high and low, have suffered. It is absolutely necessary to have peace in China at present, but Chang Hsun is trying to start a civil war, which ultimately I think must result in the total division of the country. All provinces have declared recently their intention to protect the President and the public; even Chang Hsun himself has done so. But he is betraying himself and his fellow-countrymen. He has disregarded the Constitution and the laws of the country. This is entirely unfaithful. If we let him have his own way without checking him he will surely use Peking as a base, put a nominal ruler on the Throne and he himself will take charge of everything. He will keep all power to himself and he will be free to use all the money the Government has at present. Such unconstitutional acts could only be tolerated in primitive times but I will fight for the Republic to the end and will drive out of the country all these lawless men.

Chang Hsun's Resignation Accepted

In an edict dated the eight day of the Imperial Restoration the resignation of Chang Hsun was accepted as follows:

Chang Hsun states in a memorial dated the eighth day of the Imperial Restoration that as the provinces are sending troops against him in protest, he be relieved of his posts, etc. His request is hereby accepted and he is hereby relieved of his duties as member of the Privy Council, Viceroy of Chili and Grand Commissioner of North China. He is commanded to continue strictly to control his troops now stationed in Peking, in order that peace and order may be maintained. The administrative affairs of the Privy Council shall now be carefully and effectively managed by Wang Shih-chen. He is also commanded to wait till the arrival of Hsu Shih-chang; when plans for the future will be discussed.

100,000 Dollars for Chang Hsun's Head

According to the *Ta Kung Pao*, the following notification was issued by Tuan Chi-jui, Commander-in-chief of the Republican Army, offering a price of 100,000 dollars for the capture of Chang Hsun, dead or alive:

The disaster of monarchical restoration has shaken the very foundations of the country. The deep laid plot the rebel Chang Hsun has carried into execution at such an unexpected moment that the troops and police in the Capital were wholly unprepared to cope with it. Although they were compelled to support him, yet, considering the circumstances, their participation in the movement may be excusable. Regarding the promoter of the present movement, Chang Hsun alone shall be held responsible.

It is hoped that all the troops and police in the Capital will preserve peace and order and not let the real chief Chang Hsun flee the city after he has committed such atrocious crimes against the country. A reward of 100,000 dollars is

hereby offered to any one who captures Chang Hsun dead or alive. A splendid opportunity is before them and let all do their best to win the prize.

By Order,

Tuan, Commander-in-Chief of Punitive Army.

Chang Hsun's Manifesto

The following telegram was dispatched by Chang Hsun to General Tuan Chi-jui, General Feng Kwo-chang, Mr. Hsu Shih-chang, etc., and copies of it were sent to the Foreign Ministers and the press:—

Inspired by a spirit of loyalty to the Imperial Ching House, from which I, together with my opponents, have received many favours, and believing that the restoration of the Ching House was the only possible remedy for the evils which have sprung up in the past six years I, Chang Hsun, have restored the Emperor Hsuan Tung to the throne of his fathers and have called upon my comrades and upon the nation for a support which I had every reason to anticipate, but which has not been given me.

Instead of being supported in my sincere and honest endeavour to benefit my country and my sovereign, I have been forced to do battle with my pledged associates, with my life-long comrades in arms and even with my friends of a generation's standing.

By these former friends and comrades I have been placarded as a truculent seeker after power. I have had a price put upon my head, and now without consideration and without the negotiations which are accorded the vanquished in every civilized nation on earth, I am told that I must be exterminated as a robber and a criminal.

It is not fitting that I insist upon my sincerity and honesty of purpose. Let Heaven and posterity judge me if I am forced to preserve my honour and that of my men by dying in battle with the enemies that hem me in. The cause which we came to support is dearer to me than my life and the lives of my men, and I reiterate that if I am not to be accorded an opportunity to negotiate for the welfare of my sovereign and the safety of my following in this hour of trial I can prove my honesty by dying with honour. I do not propose to shame what I believe a just and righteous cause by surrendering as a criminal.

Why am I not accorded the customary right of an honourable negotiation? I am told to come out disarmed and to surrender unconditionally on the one hand, and on the other I am advised that I have to expect the slaughter of my men and the sacrifice of my life together with my cause. What alternative is there here for a man of honour? What inducement is there to spare the populace in Peking the fright which a final combat would give them? I am as solicitous for the welfare of the people of Peking as my opponents, but I am more solicitous for the welfare of the Ching House and for the honour of my following and myself. How can I ask my followers, hemmed in and outnumbered by men who promise them destruction and the wreck of the interest in which they have followed me, to abandon their cause, to discard their weapons, and to walk into the ranks of their opponents, without guarantees of safety, or a pledge of the fair treatment which we must know will be accorded the Imperial Family before we consider any other alternative than a fight to the end.

If my former colleagues, now my opponents and oppressors, are so profoundly interested in the peace and welfare of the city of Peking, in the peace of mind of its population, and in the safety of the Diplomatic Body and of foreign residents, let them deal with me as an honourable opponent, inspired by honest principles, and not as a brigand, upon whose head there is a price, dead or alive.

Whatever terms come to me, as from one sincere man to another, I shall consider with an open mind, and shall be prepared to make whatever concessions are consistent with my honour and my principles, for the sake of peace, which I had no desire to violate at any time, and in the interest of my Sovereign.

For the present I am on the defensive. I shall keep the peace in the city. I shall not fire until I am fired upon. I shall deal honourably with envoys, but until I have been dealt with fairly and reasonably I shall not move a pace from my present position, nor abandon my moral obligations to the Imperial Household.

Before I consider any concessions whatever, the terms of an honest settlement must be arranged and proper guarantees be given for the observance of these terms. I appeal to the honourable diplomatic representatives of the Treaty Powers, in the interests of humanity and peace, to further the consummation of such arrangements, and to these honourable gentlemen I pledge myself to observe faithfully and honestly whatever agreements I find it possible to make with my opponents.

CHANG HSUN.

The Man who Restored the Manchus

A Character Sketch of the Notorious General Chang Hsun

[BY ONE WHO KNOWS HIM]

It is a decidedly picturesque and unusual thing for a man of no great political standing to come into the capital of a vast Republic, into a city circled with garrisons of 50 thousand men, and, with a half drilled following of three or four thousand, change the form of state, set up an Empire to his taste, and maintain his position for nearly two weeks in the face of all military and civil power. It could not happen in any country but China, and even in China there is only one man who has at the same time the strength of character and the mediaeval tendency of mind to undertake in the name of loyalty such a bizarre and quixotic enterprise. Chang Hsun as a character is as unique as the recent series of incidents which he initiated in Peking. The story of his rise and fall in Peking is told in other articles in this number.

Inspired by a monumental faith, or a monumental impertinence, or a foolish trust in the pledged loyalty of other military leaders, he reseated the Manchu Emperor Hsuan Tung on the Dragon Throne and maintained his nominal position as supreme director of the state for twelve days. While there are very few Chinese public men who would have been foolish enough to have undertaken what Chang Hsun did, there are still fewer who would have had the courage to maintain his position as this old-world relic of a Han dynasty type did, and in spite of all his faults, there is something refreshingly heroic and strong about Chang Hsun, which one does not often encounter in China.

To see the person of Chang Hsun in its proper setting one must study the man through Chinese eyes. The foreigner in his presence, or before his portrait, which portrays everything but his vivacity of expression, certainly would not pronounce him beautiful, yet Chang Hsun is built and his features are moulded on classic Chinese lines and in the circles of his friends he is considered an exceedingly handsome man. One must study old pictures of Chang Fei and the God of War to understand this. The eyebrows turned up at the outer corners in bushy horns are a feature of distinction and beauty, the thick-set figure, the clear skin, and the glistening, ex-

pressive black eyes are other marks of the heroic old type which give Chang Hsun a presence which Chinese admire and respect.

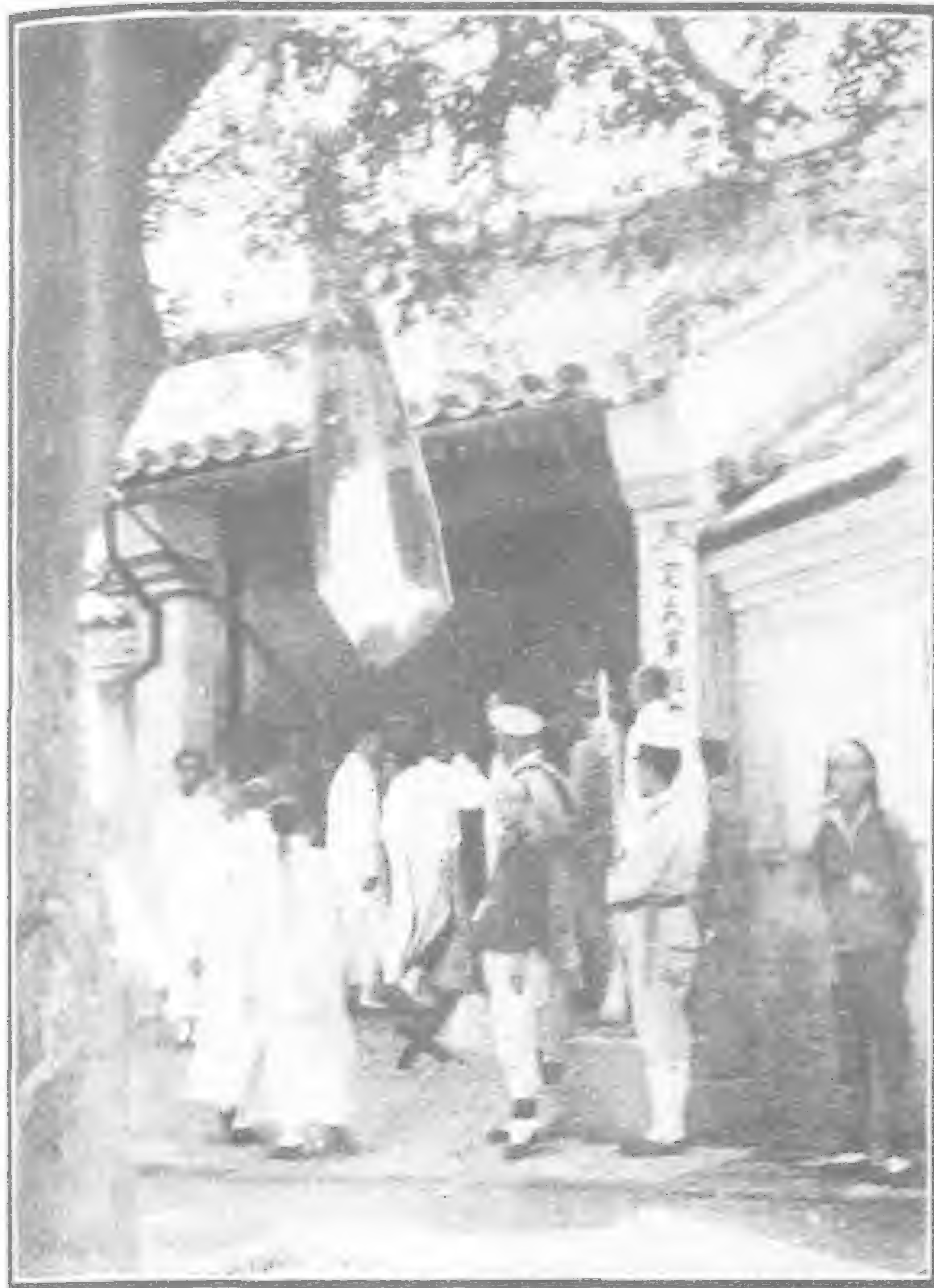
The Chinese are democrats and yet they love the man who can maintain authority. Chang Hsun in his brisk, business-like manner, approached every man even in the zenith of his power as an equal, talked to his soldiers as he did to his guests, to his servants in the same tone that he did his colleagues, always freely and cheerfully, without affectation, and yet he maintained iron discipline, sometimes with a heavy and cruel hand. He

never pretended to any station but that of a soldier in his private intercourse, but with his men he exacted the obedience and respect which was due him as an officer, and there is no doubt that through his own courage, democracy, and will to rule, he inspired his poorly equipped and poorly drilled forces with both loyalty and self-assurance, which are rare in other Chinese military units.

During the latter days of Chang Hsun's sojourn in his house in the Imperial City, the approach to his house suggested the approach to the keep of a mediaeval baron. The streets were crowded with sentinals; along the canal before his door were pitched many round tents, the bridge at his door was guarded, the hallway glistened with fixed bayonets, and all the passages and courts were watched by rigid sentinals whose shadowy forms and bright bayonets in the flickering lamplight were easily transformed by the imagination into spearmen and glistening spear heads. Everywhere were weapons and accoutrements of war. There was no suggestion of the feminine; nothing of home or peace about the big rambling mansion. It was the headquarters of a military chieftain, of a war lord whose maintenance of roof and shelter were dependent upon the strength of his arms. If one sat in a reception room there was no invasion of sleek, bowing secretaries, or peering of underling coolies, but there were armed men at the door and orderlies in the passage. And then when the Ta Shuai (the great General) came there was no whispering and running, but a shout, a rattle of presented rifles, and the burly



CHANG HSUN, THE GENERAL WHO BY A COUP RESTORED THE MANCHU EMPEROR TO THE THRONE AND HAD HIMSELF APPOINTED A MEMBER OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL, VICEROY OF CHIHLI PROVINCE AND GRAND COMMISSIONER OF NORTH CHINA



CHANG HSUN ENTERING HIS HOUSE BEFORE THE COUP

little chieftain was upon the visitor with eyes glistening, a hand outstretched, and a cheerful but determined smile upon his broad squat face.

Chang Hsun appears to be fifty but he is sixty-two. He is high shouldered, thick necked, with a sloping forehead, bushy brows, a white skin, and a slender black queue. He speaks rapidly in a high, but not unpleasant voice, is always thoughtful and serious, stubborn and decided in his arguments, frank in his condemnations, courteously formal with his guests, but ready to smile brilliantly at every touch of humour. In short he is as likeable in person as he has come to be hateful in reputation. For many years Chang Hsun has been heartily maligned by foreigners in China as a matter of principle, but those who have met the man are invariably victims of his personality and are his sturdy apologists.

Chang Hsun is a native of Kiangsi. He is therefore a southerner, although his military affiliations have been with the northern leaders for nearly 25 years. He began his career as an unlettered servant to Su Kung-pao, a famous border commissioner in the French war in Tonkin in 1882-92. In this service he was associated with Lu Yung-ting, now Commissioner of the two Kuang provinces, and under Su he rose to a position of confidence and trust. When his old chief was in bad odour Chang Hsun was sent to Peking with a large sum of money to make "presents" among the high officials. With this money, the incipient king-maker had a glorious time in the Capital. He was never over scrupulous, it may be remarked. Somewhat later he appeared at Wuchang where he tried to get a military appointment under the Viceroy. For a long time he had little success, but he was a favorite in the barracks where he made a name for himself as a boxer and wrestler, so in due course he received an appointment which took him to Nanking, where he served until after the Japanese war. When Yuan Shih-kai established the first camp for the training of the Model Army near Tientsin, Chang Hsun put in his appearance there and acted in various capacities—first as a recruiting officer, at the handsome salary of \$70 a month, according to reliable accounts. Under the wing of Yuan and the Manchus he rose steadily in rank and in honour. He became a favourite with high officials on account of his energy and the decision with which he executed orders. He is said to have accompanied the Empress Dowager in her flight to Hsianfu in the Boxer year as a mafu—a groom—and while he certainly held a military

rank at that time which would have exempted him from such service it is perfectly possible that if there were a mule which needed driving and if there were no one at hand to drive it, Chang Hsun would not have been found wanting in that capacity. The story of his rise thereafter is well known. As a brigade general he held office at various posts in the western provinces, and was commander in chief in Kansu in 1908.

When the revolution broke out in 1911, he was Commander in Chief of the Kiangnan forces at Nanking, and after resisting a siege by the Republicans with the same sort of ill-drilled and ill-equipped forces which he recently brought to Peking, he committed various cruelties upon the population and escaped from the city with his army, making his way to the north bank of the Yangtze River. Then for the first time he took control of the Tientsin-Pukow railway, with which his name is associated in the minds of most foreigners, and made his camp a portable one by commandeering all the rolling stock and housing his men in the cars. From this position he refused to move, even after the establishment of the Republic, and in 1913, in Yuan Shih-kai's service he revenged himself by taking Nanking from the rebels and permitting his troops to sack the city. In the indiscriminate slaughter of Chinese, two Japanese were killed and Chang Hsun was forced to apologize to the Japanese Consul. To cover this specific humiliation he called immediately afterwards upon all the foreign consuls in an apologetic frame of mind. Thereafter he was replaced by Feng Kuo-chang and once more took up his position on the Tientsin-Pukow railway.

Ever since the establishment of the Republic Chang Hsun has been looked upon as the champion of the reactionaries, the soldier-sage who was eventually to put into effect the monarchical schemes of Kang Yu-wei and the Manchu princes. During these five years and more, his headquarters, latterly at Hsuehowfu, have been the carefully guarded breeding ground of conspiracy and the refuge of suspected loyalists. In the past he has been cautious and discreet, and although an enemy of the Republic he has been intensely patriotic. While his followers schemed in the past for foreign assistance of one sort or another their plots were never pleasing to Chang Hsun, and in an interview with the agent of a certain foreign power one of his confidential followers is known to have repudiated advances with the significant remark that Chang Hsun would never consent to be a Wu San-kuei (who sold out the Mings to the Manchus about 1644.)

(Continued on Page 625)



A CHARACTERISTIC PICTURE OF CHANG HSUN WALKING WITH ADMIRAL MURDOCK AND COLONEL WILLIAMS, AFTER AN INSPECTION OF THE AMERICAN GUARD AT PEKING

OLD VERSUS NEW CHINA

Constitutionalists Continue their Campaign Against the Militarists to Secure Recognition of Democratic Principles

When we closed our chronicle last month of the events connected with the dissolution of Parliament and the consequent threatened armed expedition by southern provinces against the northern Military Governors, or Tuchuns, who had forced the dissolution, General Chang Hsun was the joyful, untrammelled, swashbuckling dictator in the capital.

General Tuan Chi-jui, the dismissed Premier, was living passively in a foreign concession at Tientsin, resisting all overtures on the part of his fellow military generals publicly to proclaim himself, and refusing in any way to intrude his influence to break down the deadlock existing between the northern and southern provinces.

President Li Yuan-hung, deserted by all his disgusted previous supporters because of his pusillanimity in submitting to the dictates of Chang Hsun and other Tuchuns, resided in the presidential palace—a powerless nonentity.

Chang Hsun was to all intents and purposes pompously endeavoring to goad Li Ching-hsi, the newly appointed Premier, to form a "responsible" Cabinet to preserve the Republic, and Li Ching-shi was dismally failing to secure any support in this direction.

Southern generals were threatening an expedition against the Tuchuns, and Parliamentarians were fleeing from the capital to Tientsin or Shanghai to help in the coming campaign.

The factors were rapidly assembling, in short, for a battle royal between the Constitutionalists, as represented by the Parliamentarians and certain Southern military units and the Northern military oligarchists; and observers were expecting conditions to develop into the long anticipated split between North and South China, and the probable establishment somewhere in South China of a government separate and distinct from that of the North.

This was the situation on June 27 when we closed our record of events, under the title "An Idol with Feet of Clay," and it remained the same up to the night of June 30, when with startling and unexpected suddenness Chang Hsun, by a stroke as bold as it was ill-timed and ill-conceived, attempted to over-

throw the Republic by restoring the Manchu Emperor to the Dragon Throne which had been standing empty since February, 1912, when the Dynasty abdicated in favor of Republicanism as a result of the Revolution started in October 1911.

This spectacular and exciting denouncement of Chang Hsun's advent in the capital at the personal invitation of President Li Yuan-hung as a "Mediator" to settle a difficulty threatening the existence of the Republic is separately dealt with in this issue, and though it loomed large and significant at the moment it must now be considered as a mere serio-comic interlude by students wishing to maintain continuity of thought with regard to the struggle for the establishment of constitutionalism as against military dominance, or what may be described as "Prussianism."

Of itself it was in every sense highly dramatic and pregnant of important and far-reaching results. At one stroke it wiped out of existence the extraordinary independent and irresponsible power of a tyrannical ignoramus in command of a horde of hirsute followers armed with up-to-date weapons, who bade fair to become an intolerable obstacle to the development of organized government in China, to wit, Chang Hsun; and at the same time put a definite period to the ambition of the handful of old-time opium-smoking, peacock-feather-adoring mandarins to whom the presence in the Forbidden City of the Emperor was always an incentive to dreams of re-established panoplied imperialism and its concomitant pomp and circumstance, power, patronage, and pelf. And having accomplished these two outstanding objects it was worth while.

Without further digression, however, and with a desire clearly to maintain the thread between events connected with the overthrow of Parliament by the Tuchuns as they stood on June 27, and where they found themselves on July 13, and afterwards when the overthrow of Chang Hsun and his mid-summer monarchy left matters entirely in the hands of the Northern military leaders, we will re-



GENERAL FENG KUO-CHANG, ACTING PRESIDENT OF CHINA

sume the chronicle of the struggle between the Parliamentarians and the militarists.

The Attitude of the Two Kwang Provinces

Towards the end of June much interest was centered in Kwangtung and Kwangsi Provinces, always hotbeds of hatred against Peking, and always containing elements which could as a rule be calculated upon to rise in revolt against any movement or suggested movement threatening democratic government. For once there seemed to be division among the leading authorities. It was asserted by some that Lu Yung-ting, the Military Inspector-General of the two Provinces, was hand in glove with the revolting Tuchuns, while optimistic Constitutionalists claimed that he would assist to maintain Parliament. Nor was it certain what troops he could actually command, a doubt which would seem to have influenced the attitude of the Canton leaders since it was not known on which side of the wall he would jump or when he might take the leap, for instead of declaring independence of Peking, as is usually promptly done, the announcement was published about the 27th, that Kwangtung Province at least had declared "self-government and not independence," a significant differentiation when measured by Chinese political standards. It was evident from this that the chiefs of the southern provinces were trimming, and the explanation of the Tuchun that "self-government means that we will not recognise an unlawful Cabinet," simply added to the agitation of those Constitutionalists who looked for red-hot unequivocal support on the ground that Parliament had been unlawfully dissolved. To make the position of Kwangtung clear the Chief of Police at Canton made the following statement, which was drawn up by the Tuchun:

1.—The Mandate dissolving the National Parliament does not, in the opinion of this Province, represent the wish of the Chief Executive. (President Li.)

2.—With the exception of the Chief Executive, we absolutely refuse to recognize the unlawful Cabinet and its actions in altering and revising the Constitution.

3.—Since no National Parliament exists in the Capital, we cannot speak of the existence of a Central Government. In the meantime, all civil and military affairs of this province will be under temporary self-government, but reports from time to time will be submitted to the Chief Executive.

4.—All troops in the province will be controlled by the Tuchun.

5.—As this Province is important to the Southwest, its actions bear more or less influence on the whole country, and it is incumbent upon us to act properly in order to save the situation. It is hoped that all classes of the people will act in agreement with the Tuchun.

6.—General Li Lieh-chun will take command of the Yunnanese troops in Kwangtung. Commissariat will be supplied by this province.

7.—The allocation of troops is subject to the Tuchun's decision.

8.—It is expected that all classes will acquiesce.

9.—The Tuchun will consult, and act in concert with, the Southwest Provinces.

10.—Articles embodying the Tuchun's decisions must be ratified by Inspector-General Lu Yung-ting.

The Tuchun assumed command of the troops of the whole Province, as well as of the Gendarmerie, numbering some 20,000, formerly commanded by the Civil Governor, an act which apparently offended the latter official since he promptly sent in his resignation, and eventually fled. Agitators prominently connected with many former revolutionary enterprises in China worked hard in Canton to have an expeditionary force sent against the revolting provinces of Fukien and Chekiang, and they were eventually successful in this respect, the old-time revolutionist General Li Lieh-chun being made commander of the force.

The Kwangtung Provincial Assembly took a more definite stand than the Tuchun and sent the following circular telegram to other Provinces:

No province can recognize the unlawful dissolution of the National Parliament. In a Republic the National Parliament is regarded as the highest law making organ without which the Republic could not exist. How then can we allow a few militarists, to trample it out in contravention of the law without holding them responsible for the consequence? Officials and provincial members of Parliament, in maintaining the Constitution and supporting the Central Government, should express their final determination in order to save the country from destruction and save the situation.

General Lu Yung-ting, who had vainly applied for permission to go to Peking, in the meantime advised a peaceful

settlement of the whole question, indicating that he did not wish personally to take sides. He was in a dangerous position if he really favoured the Tuchuns, for disclosure of such a view would certainly have brought about his assassination, a fact which he apparently recognised since his desire to visit Peking was but a ruse to get out of the Province.

The agitators in Canton were daily expecting practical co-operation from the navy which they had reason to believe fully supported them. This belief, too, was legitimate, for both Admiral Chen Pi-kwang and Admiral Sah Chen-ping were incensed by the action of the Tuchuns, though they were unable to translate their feelings into deeds since the bulk of the main fleet was held in the river at Shanghai by the Military officer in charge of that area. This active General placed several guns in position near the mouth of the stream and threatened to sink every vessel that attempted to pass. A few small boats did manage to get away, however, and they promptly made for southern ports.



WANG TA-HSIEH APPOINTED MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
IN NEW CABINET

The "Troops of Righteousness" of Shansi

In Shansi Province conditions were very unhappy. The Tuchun joined with his colleagues in the demand against Parliament, and promptly opposition forces in the province began to gain in strength against him. The leader of the malcontents sent a telegram to the Central Government explaining the situation, and charging the Tuchun with many "crimes." These malcontents were not Constitutionalists, and their attack on the Tuchun had nothing to do with the question at issue. They merely seized the occasion to get rid of an official who apparently had been too much for them in the past. Tuchun Yen Hsi-shan is, we think we are right in saying, the only one of the original revolutionary military governors still holding his post, but his action in supporting the overthrow of Parliament is not likely to assist him to retain his position if the Constitutionalists get back

into power. After charging the T'uchun with being a man of "fickle character," of having made "an unprecedented large fortune," and being "a disgrace to the Republic" they say:

"Sometime ago while he was in Peking he bribed beggars to besiege Parliament and was seen directing his hirelings on the job. After his return to Shansi he declared his severance from the Central Government. His policy lacks candour and sincerity and what he cares for is his own selfish interest. Taking advantage of the independence of the province he has expelled the Governor and the Occupation Commissioner without cause. The Taoyins and the Departmental chiefs are dismissed at will. On the pretext of following the example of seceding provinces he has been plotting to make the province an independent state of his own and thus destroy the union of the country. His acts have created wide-spread panic in the minds of the people and thereby provoked the anger of the officers and men under him. He is indeed a rebel to the Government and every citizen of the country has the right to punish him.

"With the object of upholding the law and discipline of the Government, we are preparing a punitive expedition against Yen. The Troops of Righteousness are gathering around us in great numbers and we hope to make an attack upon Taiyuan soon. We hereby declare that so long as Yen remains in Shansi, so long will the Troops of Righteousness refuse to disband. We request the Central Government to dismiss him by Mandate



ADMIRAL LIU KWAN-HSIUNG, APPOINTED MINISTER OF NAVY

and appoint some one else to succeed him as Tu Chun of this province. When this is done, we shall disarm and accept whatever punishment the Government deems fit for our insubordination."

Fukien Wants Reinforcements

The T'uchun of Fukien, Li Hou-chi, who also declared against Parliament, soon heard of the expedition being formed in Canton against him and telegraphed Peking for reinforcements in the shape of a mixed brigade, but his request was refused on the ground that the expedition was not likely to be sent.

Having detailed the various rumours that had come to his ears the T'uchun concluded his telegram as follows:

"Since I am T'uchun of this province, I will not take the initiative against the invaders, but I should like to be instructed as to my future actions in case the Kwangtung troops actually march to this province. As to the military arrangements of the province, I am quite satisfied. Although not many troops are stationed at Changchow, Chuanchow and other districts in the south of the province, they are veteran soldiers, who have been my intimate followers for years and have had experience in many battles. It will be comforting to the Central Government to know that should Kwangtung send its soldiers to invade this province, the strength of my army is quite sufficient to cope with them."

Declaration by Ex-Members of Parliament

To place on record their views of the situation the ex-members of Parliament assembled at Shanghai held a meeting and decided to issue a statement, which, for historical purposes, we give in full:

"Upon the question of war with Germany being raised, the plotters, endeavouring to extend their own power and influence, attempted to utilise the declaration of war for that end. Knowing, as we did, the underlying purpose of their proposal it was not accepted, but instead a resolution was passed to the effect that the diplomatic question could not be discussed until the Cabinet had been properly reorganized. Ni Shih-chung, the arch-traitor, was originally among those who most strongly opposed the declaration of war. But he became so thoroughly imbued with the foul air after he had put his feet inside Peking that he submitted the proposal to convene a military conference. Thereupon the representatives were called from the provinces and a decision was made for war. Cabinet Ministers were coerced and attempts were made to influence Parliament by either inviting the members to dinners or intimidating them by means of the so-called demonstrations of the Kung Min. Such facts are publicly known to both Chinese and foreigners. In pursuance of our policy to uphold the righteous principle we refused to be intimidated.

The traitors then realised their mistake and changed their tone by directing their attack against the making of the constitution. They asked for the dissolution of Parliament but this was refused by the President. Disappointed and angry, the traitors left Peking and hurried in a bunch to Hsuehchow. At this juncture the President, realising that the Cabinet had diverged too greatly from their proper course of action, and that as the result of the resignation of practically all of the Cabinet Ministers no meeting of the Cabinet could be held for ten days or more, issued a mandate dismissing Tuan Chi-jui from office. The said traitor (Ni Shih-chung) returned to his post and was the first one to declare his independence. He then incited and induced the generals of other provinces to send troops to surround the Capital. A General Staff was organized at Tientsin, and Hsu Shih-chang was made Generalissimo. The various partisans were gathered together and the restoration of the monarchy was openly advocated. Peking and Tientsin were thrown into a panic and the situation became exceedingly critical. Li Ching-hsi then asked to have Li Sheng-to despatched to Hsuehchow in order that Chang Hsun might be induced to join them and come to Peking in their cause. The plot was carried into the secretariat of the President's Office, and Chief Secretary Hsia Shou-kang, Vice-Chief Secretary Yao Han-hsiang, Chu Yin and others were induced to mislead the President, who was informed that if Chang Hsun be summoned to Peking peace and order might yet be maintained, otherwise the rebel force would enter Peking and the whole city would be thrown into misery, and foreign intervention would be certain. Hsia and Yao also effectively blocked all communication with the President and all of our members who wished to interview the President were refused admission.

Since the President was thus effectively cut off from the outside, the unscrupulous became exceedingly bold and active. The soldiers of Chang Hsun next occupied the Temple of Heaven and at the private house of Chang Hsun at Tientsin a mandate was drafted, authorising the dissolution of Parliament. The said draft mandate was sent to Peking by a special messenger with the demand for the President's seal and promulgation within a certain time limit. The President still held to the right principles and argued with them for the whole day. Chiang Chao-tsung, Commander of the Gendarmerie, and Wu Ping-hsiang, Superintendent-General of Police, became also involved with Chang Hsun. With the force of the army and the police of the Metropolis they sought to coerce the President. In this way the false mandate dated June 13 for the re-election of Parliament was promulgated. On the following day Chang Hsun and Li Ching-hsi entered Peking together. Thereupon false doctrines such as the amendment of the parliamentary election law, reduction of the number of M. Ps., convocation of a convention of provincial representatives for the discussion of the constitution and the organization of a Yuan Lao Yuan, were proposed one after another.

Attention must be called to the fact that it is on the strength of the Provisional Constitution that the Republic of Chung Hua has been established and maintained up till this day. If the Provisional Constitution be destroyed or violated the Republic must practically cease to exist. Furthermore, both the President and Parliament owe their existence to the Provisional Constitution. If the Provisional Constitution is to be upheld neither the President nor Parliament should be touched. Yet the words of Chang Hsun and others are to "support the President but dissolve Parliament." If Parliament be unlawfully dissolved then the Provisional Constitution must first of all be violated. After this not only the position of the President shall be unsafe but the end of the Republic would be in

sight. Again, Parliament law and the election law are all based on the Provisional Constitution. No one therefore has the right to alter even one single word in the said laws except in accordance with the provisions of law.

As to the making of the Constitution, it is specially provided for in the Provisional Constitution. The power is vested in Parliament. No people other than those concerned are entitled to interfere. Ni Shih-chung and Chang Hsun are officers of the Republic, yet they have invaded or threatened the capital with a large military force in the manner of the "Boxers." They have even done more than this. They, in unlawful league with the military and police, have forced the Chief Executive to destroy the fundamental law of the land. They are traitors. What will be left of the State if traitors are not punished?

Now both Ni and Chang are men who style themselves members of the Peiyang party. Certainly the Peiyang party is not wanting in men who properly behave themselves. Neither is the Peiyang army lacking in civilised soldiers. Yet this name has been usurped by Ni and Chang for the purpose of enabling them to act in sinister allegiance to dominate over the whole country. Hereafter China will be a country of bandits. Such is not merely a humiliation to the whole country but also a disgrace to the Peiyang party. Our duty is of course to bring Ni and Chang to answer to the law. But the Peiyang party is also in duty bound to eject from the herd the contagiously infected horse. Only by so doing can the right and wrong be distinguished and the guidance for future action be secured. Otherwise the wheat and tare will be burned by the same fire, which is certainly undesirable for the interests of the nation, or else the pure will be overshadowed by the impure, which cannot be welcome to the individual who respects himself. We hereby therefore make this declaration.

The punitive campaign, now launched, will first of all be limited to Ni Shih-chung who started the rebellion, Chang Hsun, the person who directed the movement, and others who planned and incited them to take the rebellious course. Others will be allowed to repent by turning their mind towards the righteous course and thus pardoned from suffering the extreme penalty. The aim of the campaign will be to secure the utmost enforcement of the law of the land. Generals and officers of whatever party who follow the rebels even on account of their ignorance, will not be pardoned if the act is committed just now. Even those who silently oppose the righteous force under the pretext of neutrality or show partiality to the rebels by using the excuse of mediation shall be considered as equally guilty as the actual rebels. The capital is now, the hotbed of devils and President Li is now entwined by thick cordons of rebels. Since it has been proved beyond doubt that the rebels have issued the false mandate dissolving Parliament, we shall not recognize any mandates to be issued hereafter in the name of the President. Officials, who for fear of losing their post, submit themselves to be used by the rebels shall also be considered as members of the rebellion. They should refuse to communicate with the rebels. All these are necessary for the maintenance of righteousness. Let all of our citizens understand this principle so that it may be easy to suppress the rebellion.

Chang Hsun Makes his Coup

By June 29 it became apparent that Li Ching-hsi could not secure the consent of his nominees to form a Cabinet, and this fact began to irritate Chang Hsun considerably. On the 30th he had obviously come to some definite decision, those able to observe him reporting that his already well-known animation was if anything increased and portended something unusual. What it was the General was contemplating was not known to his intimates until late that night, and was not known to the world until the morning of July 1. So far as the Chinese populace was concerned it went to bed on June 30 under a Republic, but it awoke next morning to rub its astonished eyes under—so far as Peking was concerned—a Manchu monarch, with the old yellow dragon flag waving in the breeze from official buildings, and guards of Chang Hsun's pig-tailed troops at various places in the city—particularly about the Forbidden City and the post and telegraph offices.

Chang Hsun had become tired of delay, and he declared that his patience with regard to Li Ching-hsi had become exhausted, adding that Li Ching-hsi was the last chance the Republic had of continuance, and since Li Ching-hsi had failed nothing else was to be done if China was to be saved but to restore the Manchu boy Emperor.

In reality the decision of Chang Hsun to overthrow the Republic must have been come to very quickly. At Tientsin, upon the day of his arrival, Chang Hsun declared to the writer that he had no intention of attempting to restore the Manchus, that the Manchus did not wish to be restored, and that so long as the Republic treated the Manchus properly so far as the payment agreed upon in 1912 was concerned, he would support it.

"I intend to keep Li Yuan-hung as President," he said, "but he must dissolve Parliament."

After his arrival in Peking he saw the Imperial family and it is known that they discountenanced any attempt on the part of their loyal champion to deprive them of their comfort by restoring the Emperor, and until the last minute on the night of June 30 they believed that nothing would be done to interfere with them. What then happened is told elsewhere, but briefly it may be stated that Chang Hsun simply took them by storm and against their strongest protests and pleadings effected his purpose, believing that he would have the support of the bulk of the Tutchuns.

That this was not the case was promptly demonstrated by the immediate entrance into the quarrel of General Tuan Chi-jui. The ex-Premier declared to the writer the day that Chang Hsun arrived in Tientsin (June 7) that he would not abandon his retirement unless "an attempt was made to restore the Manchus, or a civil war was precipitated." If the Manchus were restored he said he would come out and fight the movement, or if civil war broke out he would endeavor to suppress it.



LIANG CHIH-CHAO APPOINTED MINISTER OF FINANCE

There was, therefore, some speculation as to what Tuan's attitude would be when the Monarchy was announced. Within two days it was made clear, and true to his statement he took the field to restore the Republic. His campaign was so swiftly inaugurated and so successfully conducted that by the afternoon of July 12 Chang Hsun was defeated and had taken refuge in the Dutch Legation at Peking.

The appearance of the Manchus back upon the Throne so stirred the country that the feud of the Constitutionalists with the Tutchuns was for the moment forgotten, and when Tuan Chi-jui took the lead against the Monarchists the Southern Provinces expressed readiness to assist him and steps were taken to launch expeditions of troops. Well-wishers hoped that this union of forces against the common enemy would heal the breach between the North and South for good and all, but unfortunately the campaign was not of sufficient duration to

cement any ideas in the blood of battle. The troops commanded by the very Tuchuns who had brought about the overthrow of Parliament and who were accused of aiming at the overthrow of the Republic, were the ones who earned the distinction of having saved the Republic, and the campaign finds President Li Yuan-hung out of office, by virtue of the fact that he took refuge in territory under foreign jurisdiction—the Legation Quarter of Peking—and Tuan Chi-jui, the dismissed Premier, back in the Capital, the hero of the hour so far as the North is concerned, and the Presidential power in the hands for the moment of General Feng Kuo-chang, the Vice-President who acts as President.

All power is in fact in the hands of the Tuchuns, and they are stronger than ever as a result of the fact that they were the ones actually to drive out the monarchists and restore the Republic. The Constitutionals did not have even a remote chance to participate, which is distinctly unfortunate since



TANG HUA-LUNG APPOINTED MINISTER OF INTERIOR

combined effort might have been the means of adjusting the misunderstandings and difficulties that now obstruct peaceful Parliamentary development.

The Struggle Between North and South Resumed

And with Chang Hsun and the Manchus overthrown the breach between the factions which was temporarily closed is opened wider than ever. For this the military leaders cannot escape blame. General Tuan Chi-jui had the opportunity of exercising immense influence over Southern opponents by statesmanlike action. Had he at once invited Southern leaders to come forward and join him in the overthrow of Chang Hsun and the Manchus he would have disarmed criticism at least. Instead he listened solely to Northern urging to consolidate the position of the militarists, and the only political faction with which he dealt was the Yenchuihui (formerly Chinputang), an organization which associated itself with Yuan Shih-kai when

he overthrew Parliament, and again with the Tuchuns when they accomplished a similar thing. About Tuan Chi-jui assembled the leaders of this party immediately the Manchu restoration was effected, and the consequence was that General Tuan completely, if not wittingly, neglected the Southern or Kuomintang leaders, and ignored their ideas and their wishes.

In the close co operation of the military and the members of the Chinputang the Southern leaders scented danger, and before the smoke of battle against Chang Hsun had risen in Peking they were protesting against Tuan Chi-jui's reassumption of office as Premier as illegal, and were advancing arguments to prove that the best interests of the Republic could not be served by Tuan Chi-jui, since the Tuchuns were the ones who had menaced democratic government and actually precipitated the conditions which made it possible for Chang Hsun to appear in Peking and bring about his coup.

President Li Escapes from the Palace

Prior to the time when Chang Hsun decided to wipe out the Republic on the night of June 30, President Li Yuan-hung was, as previously stated, a practical nonentity in the Palace. He had no say in anything contrived by Chang Hsun or his satellites, and whatever the latter attempted in the way of forming a Cabinet was done without any reference to President Li. Nor did the latter know of the projected coup until early on the morning of July, when a group of monarchists visited him and suggested that he retire in favor of the Manchus. President Li promptly and emphatically declined to do any such thing, and later the same group reappeared to tell him his resignation was then immaterial since the Manchu Emperor had been replaced on the Throne.

On July 1 the President determined upon a course of action in order to procure the continuance of the Republican regime outside of the Capital, sending his Presidential Seal and three special Mandates, with accompanying telegrams, to Tientsin. One Mandate appointed Vice-President Feng Kuo-chang to act as President, a second dismissed Li Ching-hsi as Premier. Having thus disposed of the power in his hands President Li left the Palace in the evening of July 2 and failing to gain sanctuary at the French Hospital in the Legation Quarter he went to the Japanese Legation and was there accommodated. On July 3 the President's family left the Palace and eventually entered the Legation Quarter and were given protection at the French Legation.

The following are the telegrams despatched (according to the *Peking Gazette*) by the President before he left the Palace:

Dated July 1.—To-day Inspector General Chang (Hsun) entered the city with his troops and actually restored the monarchy. He stopped traffic and sent Liang Ting-fen and others to my place to persuade me. Yuan-hung refused in firm language and swore that he would not recognise such a step. It is his hope that the Vice-President and others will take effective means to protect the Republic. YUAN-HUNG.

President Li Denies Complicity

Dated July 1.—As Heaven does not scorn calamity so has the monarchy been restored. It is said that in an edict issued by the Ching House it is stated that Yuan-hung had actually memorialised to return the power of State to the said House. This is an extraordinary announcement. China changed from autocracy to a Republic by the unanimous wish of the five races of the country. Since Yuan-hung was entrusted by the people with the great responsibilities it is his natural duty to maintain the Republic to the very end. Nothing more or less than this will he care to say. He is sending this in order to avoid misunderstanding. YUAN-HUNG.

Hands Over to the Vice-President

To the Vice-President Feng at Nanking.—It is to be presumed that the two telegrams sent on the 1st have safely reached you. I state with deepest regret and greatest sorrow that as the result of my lack of ability to handle the situation the political crisis has eventually affected the form of government. For this Yuan-hung realises that he owes the country apology. The situation in Peking is daily becoming more precarious. Since Yuan-hung is now unable to exercise his power the continuity of the Republic may be suddenly interrupted. You are also entrusted by the citizens with great responsibilities. I ask you to temporarily exercise the power and functions of the President in your own office in accordance with the provisions of Article 42 of the Provisional Constitution and Article 5 of the Presidential Election law. As the means of communication is effectively blocked it is feared that the sending of my seal will meet with difficulty and obstruction. Tuan Chih-chuan (Tuan Chi-jui)

has been appointed Premier, and is also ordered to temporarily protect the seal, and later to devise a means to forward it on to you. Hereafter everything pertaining to the important question of saving the country shall be energetically pushed by you and Chih-chuan with utmost vigour. The situation is pressing and your duty is clear. In great anxiety and expectation I am sending you this telegram. YUAN-HUNG.

Telegram to the Provinces

Dated July 3.—To Vice-President Feng, Tu Chuns and Governors of the Provinces. Provincial Assemblies, Inspector General Lu:—I presume that the two telegrams dated 1st and one dated July 3 have safely reached your place. With bitter remorse to myself I now make the statement that the political crisis has resulted in affecting the form of government. Tuan Chih-chuan has been appointed on July 1 as Premier; and the Vice-President has been asked to exercise the power and functions of the President in accordance with law. Pending the formal assumption of office by the Vice-President, Premier Tuan is authorised to act at his discretion. All the seals and documents have been sent to Tientsin, and Premier Tuan has been told to keep and guard the same for the time being. He has also been asked to forward the same to the Vice-President. The bodyguard of the President's Office have suddenly been replaced and I have been pressed to give up the Three Lakes. Yuan-hung has therefore removed to a hospital. As regards the means to save the country I trust that you will consult and work unitedly with Vice-President Feng and Premier Tuan. In great expectation, and with much of my heart not poured out, Yours. YUAN-HUNG.

A Call to Crush the Monarchy

Regarding Chang Hsun's occupation of the Capital with his troops and the change in the form of Government, it has already been briefly reported in my message dated July 1. Subsequently the said rebel and others issued a bogus Edict, alleging the complicity of Yuan-hung and other founders of the Republic in the present plot against the Min Kuo with a view to deceiving the public. I am now in a state of helplessness, being surrounded by enemies and have lost my personal freedom. It will, of course, be easy for me to sacrifice my life as an expression of my solicitude for the country, but this will not enable me to explain my love for the Republic and to further my efforts in defending the democratic regime, as I fear that rumours may misrepresent my part in the present upheaval. I am hereby despatching . . . from the Capital to seek other means of saving the Republic, which is now verging on to extinction. It is hoped that the loyal officials and patriotic people of the provinces will wake up to their responsibilities and crush out the rebels so as to settle the foundation of the country on a stable basis. When this is done, I shall feel fully satisfied, even if I shall have died by that time. With tears and blood, I pen this message and appeal to the people of the country.

(Signed) LI YUAN-HUNG.

Tuan Chi-jui Again Premier

Upon the receipt of the President's messages General Tuan Chi-jui promptly resumed the Premiership and functioned as from Tientsin, while Vice-President Feng Kuo-chang accepted the acting Presidency and functioned from Nanking.

On July 6 a formal notification was issued from Tientsin that General Feng Kuo-chang had assumed office as President and had instructed the Premier to form a Cabinet. The old yamen of the Governor was occupied as offices and a number of the secretaries from the Cabinet offices in Peking were installed. The only Ministry actually operating, however, was the Ministry of Communications. Mr. Wang Ta-shieh was sent to Peking on July 10 by special train to act as Commissioner of Foreign Affairs pending the defeat of Chang Hsun, and for safety he took up residence at the Wagon Lits Hotel in the Legation Quarter.

Dr. Wu Ting-fang, who will always be honored for his stout refusal to countersign the Mandate dissolving Parliament, was at Shanhaikwan when the monarchy was restored, and when the news was first conveyed to him by Dr. Morrison, who happened to reach that place on July 1, he absolutely refused to believe it. He was convinced the next day, however, and promptly left for Tientsin and thence for Shanghai by steamer. Upon arriving at the latter port he was accorded a warm reception by large crowds of Chinese and in a speech stated that although he had repeatedly tendered his resignation as Foreign Minister it had not been accepted, and therefore he still considered himself to be the Minister of Foreign Affairs for the Republican Government.

Possessed of the seal of the Ministry he opened a Bureau of Foreign Affairs at Shanghai, and this act virtually emphasised the continued existence of the breach between the North and the South, for the acting-President shortly afterwards issued a

Mandate dismissing Dr. Wu from office as Minister of Foreign Affairs. Dr. Wu had in the meantime notified the Chinese Ministers abroad that he had resumed his duties at Shanghai, and had also wired the Foreign Ministers in Peking urging them to conduct affairs through him, and to refuse to recognise Liang Tun-yen, the Manchu Minister of Foreign Affairs.

The South Dissatisfied

Other Mandates issued by the Republican Government dismissed Chang Hsun from office and stripped him of all titles, and countermanded the punitive expeditions being arranged for despatch by various provinces.

The Southern Republicans refused to admit the right of the acting-President to dismiss Dr. Wu, and likewise they contested the legality of General Tuan's appointment as Premier. A considerable amount of doubt existed in the minds of the Constitutionals as to General Tuan's intentions, and basing



TSAO JU-LIN APPOINTED MINISTER OF COMMUNICATIONS

their opinions upon previous actions of the Tutchuns they took it for granted that the Premier would merely carry out the policy he favored when he was in power prior to his dismissal.

Justification was lent to this belief by the publication of a proposed Cabinet consisting of the following:

Premier,—General Tuan Chi-jui.
 Foreign Affairs,—Wang Ta-shieh.
 Finance,—Liang Chi-chao.
 Interior,—Tang Hua-lung.
 Minister of War,—Wang Shih-chen.
 Minister of Navy,—Liu Kuan-hsiung.
 Minister Communications.—Tsao Yu-lin.
 Minister Agriculture and Commerce,—Chang Kuo-Kan.
 Minister Education,—Chang Yi-lun.
 Minister Justice,—Lin Chang-min.

In this group the South is without representation, and it is stated that when General Tuan was asked to recast the Cabinet to include some Southerners he absolutely refused. With the exception of the military men included the remainder are members of the Chinputang party, and, as the correspondent of the *Peking and Tientsin Times* says, "this is far from being a wise move on the part of General Tuan Chi-jui, for by leaving out all the Southern leaders he is giving them a direct slap in the face and is throwing down the gauntlet to them."

The pity of it is that General Tuan has thus compelled the South to pick the gauntlet up, and even before he had left Tientsin for Peking after his victory against Chang Hsun strong opinions were being expressed against him. Instead of entering Peking to the unanimous acclamations of the country he returned on July 14 with the South against him, suspicious of his intentions, and believing that what otherwise would be regarded as extreme patriotism and loyalty was purely opportunism with the calculated motive of self-seeking. It is



YIK KONG-CHO APPOINTED VICE-MINISTER
OF COMMUNICATIONS

greatly to be regretted that General Tuan should lay himself open to such allegations after his splendid exploit against the Hsuehchowfu bandit and on behalf of the Republic. He deserves better things but the South cannot be blamed if they see in his actions an intention to ignore the constitutional principles for which they stand, especially when he disposes of Cabinet posts totally to exclude Southern representation.

By prompt avowal of a policy based upon constitutional procedure General Tuan could do much to stay any further widening of the breach, and one of the expectations the Southerners have, if General Tuan wishes to exemplify his broad-mindedness and his intention to unify the country, is that he will reinstate the Parliament which the Tuchuns caused to be dissolved. This is a demand the South made when Tuan had been but two days in Peking, and it is one to which all his

supporters in the North will strive to prevent him acceding even if he personally is ready to do so, which we doubt.

The Militarists Gain Strength

The coup of Chang Hsun has been the means, as previously stated, of placing the Peiyang militarists in a position more powerful than they have hitherto occupied, for it has brought about the elimination of Chang Hsun, always an aggravating thorn in their side, and has consolidated them to such an extent that they will have an exceptional chance of victory should the South take up arms against them in Constitutional interests.

An exceptional opportunity was presented General Tuan to heal the sore that has disturbed the body politic since the foundation of the Republic and his failure to seize it is to be condemned. Without exception foreign newspapers and foreign observers in China recognised the monarchy coup as a Heaven-sent opportunity to bring the North and South together, and unanimous hope was expressed that it would be taken advantage of to end an impossible set of conditions.

While on the one hand and South has some ground to blame Tuan Chi-jui for ignoring its existence, on the other the South cannot escape culpability for any difficulties that may arise. Unhappily there is a band of extremists in the foreign settlements which can see no good in anything with which is associated the Northern military leaders, and though General Tuan Chi-jui deserves the unequivocal thanks of the southern leaders for his promptitude in rescuing the Republic he not only is not accorded one word of appreciation but is passionately attacked on the flimsiest of pretexts. Prejudice and suspicion are permitted totally to submerge the finer qualities which should be possessed by even the meanest intellects, and when so-called leaders exhibit themselves in roles which can not be estimated by observers other than as unpatriotic it is difficult to see how their more moderate, broad-minded, and intellectual associates can continue to adhere to them. Ex-President Li Yuan-hung makes a specific appeal to such men in the telegram which he despatched after leaving the Japanese Legation on July 14 and which is given in full below. He urges all parties to sink their prejudices and unite lest the country be lost, or, as he picturesquely puts it, "Every fight within the house among our brethren can be utilised as material for unscrupulous people to steal the domain." The time has come when wisdom must be exhibited on all sides if China is to retain her national entity, and the sooner both sides recognize that all views must be moderated the sooner will the country have some chance of recovering from the trials and tribulations which have beset it during the past six years.

Seeing the storm clouds again rising the members of the Chinputang party selected by General Tuan for his Cabinet declined to accept the positions, obviously with the intention of demonstrating that they are not seeking power. General Wang Shih-chen also refused the war portfolio and when the Premier took up his duties at the Cabinet offices on July 15 he found himself confronted with the necessity of making other arrangements. Efforts were made to persuade Liang-Chi-chiao, Tung Hua-lung and Lin Chang-min to reconsider their decision, and these were ultimately successful.

Li Yuan-hung's Pathetic Valediction

On the afternoon of his arrival in Peking General Tuan Chi-jui called at the Japanese Legation to see General Li Yuan-hung, and shortly afterwards the ex-President left the shelter of the Legation Quarter for his home, where his family also later arrived. Already he had made up his mind no longer to remain as President and in the course of the evening despatched two telegrams to notify the country of this fact and the reasons for his decision. The telegram explaining his position is pathetic, but it makes an appeal to all parties which should be listened to if the desire of the politicians really is to serve the country. Li Yuan-hung lost great prestige when he submitted to the dictates of the Tuchuns to dissolve Parliament and for that reason his words are not likely to have anything near the weight they otherwise would have had. The telegrams were as follows:

To President Feng at Nanking, Inspector General Lu at Wu-min...
(the addresses include Hsu Shih-chang, Liang Chi-chao, Tang Shao-yi,

Sun Yat-sen, and others)—By the grace of Heaven, and the valour of President Feng, Premier Tuan, as well as the generals and soldiers at the front the capital of the Republic has been restored. Yuan-hung has this day returned to his home in the Tung Chang Hutung and proposes soon to go to his residence in Tientsin to recuperate his health. He confesses that he has many faults to be answerable for, even though he has vacated his office for certain reasons. Hereafter he will spend his life at home and will not participate in political affairs. Fearing that you may be unnecessarily worried over this question, he has the honour to thus communicate with you.—YUAN-HUNG.

Definite Refusal of Office

Extraordinarily Urgent.—To President Feng.....It is presumed that my former telegram has duly reached you. From rumours which have just reached my ears certain persons are speculating on the possibility of Yuan-hung returning to his former office. This has greatly shocked me. The promise has long been made by Yuan-hung, that he would resign in order to show his acknowledgment of his failings. His words are as inviolable as the oath taken in the name of the brilliant sun or the ever running waters and in view of the fact that he has already resigned and a successor has been found, neither law nor decency sanctions his return to office. In his own opinion Yuan-hung is a man of poor judgment, and it is only by the whim of fate that he has been placed in his high position. As the result of his excessive zeal to attain an ideal government he has stumbled even on a smooth road. In the employment of men he has been too lax in selection, so that it became possible for him to be misled. Upon retrospective reflection on his shortcomings he feels embittered with self remorse.

(1) Parliament and Cabinet are the two essentials to a nation; and the difficulty of making our Constitution renders it necessary to secure as wide a representation of views as possible. Just when the scholars were enthusiastically discussing theories, indignant words were raised by the military people. Although every effort was made to secure an impartial settlement, the explosion promptly went off the moment the fuse was lit. Whether in endeavouring to secure a temporary peace or in adhering too strictly to the letter of the law, he was unable to discover a way to soothe the feelings of all concerned, but rather, has courted unexpected disaster.

(2) The dissolution of Parliament is an extraordinary step. It might be said that there was no special provisions in law to prevent it and that the precedents of our neighbour could be copied, it should also be remembered that he had sworn to adhere strictly to the letter of the law. But later, fearing that the life of the Republic might be interrupted midway, he eventually broke his former vow and ordered a new election. Like swallowing water with dried weed, it was an impossible task to carry out his true wish; and like a few blades of grass in the wind, he has yielded and broken his word.

(3) Chang Hsun has long been stuffed with wild ambition and finally became a self-made covenant chief. In view of the numerous difficulties besetting the country, leniency was shown him with much reluctance. This resulted in his taking advantage of a crisis to incite the Provincial Authorities and compassing with certain important personages to extort a mandate. Although Yuan-hung did not agree at first, he was finally misled by the counsels of many. This led to the coup for the possession of the Government soon after the exaction of certain demands. He invited the bee to sting his fingers and opened his door to the tiger, which he was unable to drive out.

(4) The great theft of a state shocked the capital, and guards were removed while a large military force was brought into the palace. Having seen many a battle Yuan-hung was not intimidated by the terrible looking devil, but in order to save the great structure from complete ruin it was necessary for him to hand the burdens to one, who could be depended on as the Great Wall. It was for this that Yuan-hung swallowed the humiliation and accepted the insult. Nevertheless, he fully realises that since he has failed either to punish the rebels with a military force or burn himself in his house according to the dictates of his patriotic conscience, he has much to be ashamed of, although for the restoration of the Republic he has secured a capable man.

(5) In the silence of the night he left his house accompanied by a few men in the hope of reaching the hospital. His thought was that if he could escape from the tight imprisonment he might yet do something in the interests of the nation. Unfortunately the door was not opened to him while pursuers were at his heel. By hurrying to the foreign Legation he succeeded in avoiding danger to his life. Since going into hiding, he has thus become more conscious of the necessity of caution. He therefore made a declaration to the Legation that he was no more than a commoner. No harm was done to the country but he must remember that he was under foreign protection.

All these faults are inexcusable. For the mistake of one person millions have suffered. A mere look at a bayonet recalls to his mind the wounded and killed; while the sound of drum and trumpet invariably wakes him to a sense of his disgrace as a general. Greater mistakes could not have been made; and it would not be wrong to inflict upon him the severest of punishment. If, therefore, the country would sympathise with him for his good intention, and allow him to return to private life, he will then meditate over his shortcomings behind closed doors and by sweeping the floor and burning incense he may yet repent his faults and spend the rest of his days in peace. A fallen leaf cannot rejoin the original branch nor a fallen flower return to its green bough. So long as he has conscience with him it will be impossible for him to face the world in his former post. Furthermore, faithfulness is a necessity to a statesman and true friendship seeks to make a friend a true person.

When a harp falls into discord it is time to change the string. When a cart overturns in its progress it is time to find a new road. If a person so full of faults be artificially propped up in a responsible place, the affair will become a laughing stock to the world as well as the people of his own country. How then will it be possible to exercise discipline and carry on intercourse with foreign Powers? A poor crop of melons can only be picked three times, so is it impossible for a person, who has brought disaster to the country, to again return to office.

Yuan-hung, however, has one more word to say. *Unity alone can consolidate the country*; and an army is victorious when its elements will work in harmony. At this time of life and death to the nation, it is necessary, if misunderstanding and internal strife are to be avoided, to adhere strictly to law and to cast away all suspicion. *President Feng is admired by his troops during all these years of his command at Kiang Huai. As to Premier Tuan, he has restored the Republic by steps that did not even disturb the people. If it is possible to actually put our heads together there can be no question of North or South.* With regard to the military demonstration, many provinces actually took part. It was prompted by patriotism but nevertheless the act was one of violation of discipline. By responding to the call to arms against the rebel, they have proved themselves to be truly loyal to the Republic. It is therefore not Yuan-hung's wish to refuse to recognise the great merits of the Tu Chuns by making mention of their unlawful action. During the two years



LING CHANG-MIN APPOINTED MINISTER OF JUSTICE

all have contributed to the protection of the Republic. Since all are one in patriotism and faithfulness, let all endeavour to secure a constitutional government. If we find fault and try to eject those who differ with us, then disaster may yet be our lot even on the verge of success. The day of peace and order then will be far, far away from us. Ever since the revolution, political battles have followed one another. Every fight within the house among our brethren can be utilised as material for unscrupulous people to steal the domain. What can any one of us do if the country be destroyed? The lesson is before us and the will of heaven cannot be avoided. These are the words which Yuan-hung wishes to say in tears, although he be guilty himself. Let us therefore endeavour to respect our Ho-chien (Feng Kuo-chang) and thus help to consolidate the Republic. Then our trouble shall not have been in vain and even those who have died will yet live. Otherwise patriotic people will be so discouraged that they would rather throw themselves into the sea. May these words, uttered in pathetic sincerity, gain your attention and consideration.—YUAN HUNG.

During the forenoon of July 16 many wild rumours circulated in Peking to the effect that an attempt had been made on the ex-President's life. Color was lent to the stories by the fact that General Li had entered the Legation Quarter and had taken refuge in the French Hospital. The cause of the alarm was the murderous activities of one of the ex-

President's bodyguards, who, early in the morning had run amok and killed and wounded several of his comrades before he was shot down by a volley.

Demands of the Southern Leaders

To make their demands known certain of the Southern leaders issued a manifesto, which they circulated by telegraph, from Shanghai. We give it below and it will be seen that the Parliamentarians are maintaining the legality of their organization, and intend fighting the unconstitutional act of President Li Yuan-hung when he dissolved the body. That Mandate was contrary to the Constitution, and they claim that all subsequent ones must be in the same class. They likewise call for the forfeiture of the special privileges accorded the Manchu Imperial family, and in this respect they find supporters in a number of military leaders in the North who on July 16 circulated a telegram calling for cancellation of the "Favorable Treatment Agreement" and the \$4,000,000 per year paid by the Republic. The Parliamentarians have determined to recognise no other legislature or Provisional Senate or Constitutional Convention, but have decided to reassemble themselves. Whether this threat will be actually carried out depends entirely upon the attitude of General Tuan Chi-jui, the Premier. If he is stubborn in his disregard of Southern claims then a serious contretemps will arise, and from it is likely to spring a disastrous civil war unless the Premier is able to prove to the country that his policy

is the best for the national welfare. The five declarations in the manifesto of the Parliamentarians are as follows:

1. Since the mandate dissolving Parliament was contrary to the Constitution, it is naturally ineffective. All subsequent mandates are also ineffective because they were not counter-signed in accordance with law. Chiang Chao-chung and others were not legal Cabinet Ministers. All mandates hereafter shall not be recognised if they are not issued legally.

2. The special privilege act extended to the Ta Ching imperial family was an act of leniency on the part of the Republic. The act became effective only after being passed upon by the Nankaing Parliament. Now the imperial house has actually dared to rebel against the Republic, the privileges are naturally forfeited. However, the proper settlement of the question should be left to the Legislature for its decision.

3. Any other legislature, or provisional senate or constitutional convention shall not be recognised, because their organisation will be contrary as well as destructive to the Constitution.

4. The original Parliament will immediately convene by itself.

5. Monarchists, rebels and instigators for the destruction of law shall be punished in accordance with law.

Cabinet Making

Undeterred by Southern protests the Premier went ahead with the formation of a Cabinet. On July 15 the first Ministers were gazetted. Failing to persuade General Wang Shih-chen to accept the War portfolio the Premier decided to take it himself concurrently with his duties as Premier. Wang Tshieh accepted Foreign Affairs, and Admiral Liu Kuan-hsiung took up the Naval administration, while Admiral Sah Chen-ping was appointed Inspecting Commissioner of the Coasts.

Dr. Wu Ting-fang, who, when the Manchus began operations, opened a Republican Foreign Office at Shanghai, handed

back the Republican seal on July 13 to the Kiangsu Commissioner of Foreign Affairs as deputy for General Feng Kuo-chang, the Acting-President, making the following explanation by wire to the Civil Governor of Kiangsu:

"When I arrived at Shanghai on July 7 General Feng had not yet assumed the office of the Acting-President, while the Cabinet at Tientsin had not yet been organized. Since there was no one responsible for foreign affairs of the nation and I was afraid that the Powers might recognize the rebel government in Peking, I wired to the Foreign Envoys in Peking not to deal with Liang Tun-yen in order to protect the interest of the Republic. Now that a Mandate has been issued relieving me of office, I am pleased to learn that the Republic has found some competent person to handle the diplomatic affairs of the country and have yielded my official seal to be sent to Tientsin."

On July 17 the Chinputang party held a meeting to discuss their attitude with regard to the Cabinet, it being necessary for them to reply to the pressure of the Premier upon Liang Chi-chiao and Tang Hua-lung, nominated as Ministers of Finance and Interior respectively. A resolution was passed that in the crisis the Chinputang should assist the Premier, and therefore the embargo placed on members with regard to the acceptance of Cabinet posts was removed, it being left to those concerned to decide whether or not they should take the portfolios offered. This left both Liang Chi-chiao and Tang Hua-lung free to fulfil the arrangement they had apparently previously made with General Tuan at Tientsin, and they announced their willingness to join the Cabinet.

General Feng Acts as President

On July 17 the foreign Legations at Peking were officially notified that General Feng Kuo-chang had agreed to take up his duties as Acting-President, the efforts to persuade General Li Yuan-hung to resume as President being abandoned as futile. The acceptance of office by General Feng would seem, too, to show that the differences which used to exist between him and General Tuan Chi-jui have been settled, in which case the South will have been deprived of a possible military pillar on the Yangtze. They were hoping to be able to convert General Feng to their way of thinking, and so secure his active support against the North should a definite split occur. If General Feng is really siding with the North he will probably carry with him the allegiance of Kiangsi Province, which will be another serious blow to the South. General Li Chun, the Military Governor of Kiangsi, used to be a staunch adherent of General Feng's, but of late the Southern leaders have been cultivating him, and indeed he has been spoken about as the Southern nominee for President at the next election. General Li is an excellent type of military officer, and is one who is strongly opposed to military interference in political affairs. In this connexion it may be mentioned he was one of the stoutest opponents of the Military Conference which General Tuan called at Peking when he realised its true import. If he can be secured by the South as a military leader they will have a decidedly important adherent, but his past affiliations with General Feng make it doubtful that he will now desert his old colleague.

When ex-President Li had settled down in his home on the 15th General Tuan called upon him and a mutual expression of regrets took place for their failure to work together in the past. General Li pointed out that the mistakes he had made while Chief Executive were of such a nature that he was precluded from further officiating, and that he must insist upon his resignation being accepted. General Tuan admitted acting with "lack of respect" towards the President while he was Premier, and apologised, saying that he was inspired by a sense of duty to do what he had done. The atmosphere having been thus cleared a discussion took place upon the steps that should be taken to tide over the existing crisis and the ex-President is reported to have urged upon the Premier the necessity of effecting a union of the North and South, of convoking Parliament, of appointing talented persons to office irrespective of party, of eliminating the party spirit in carrying on the administration of government, and of punishing the ringleaders of the restoration movement, naming such men as Chang Hsun, Lei Cheng-chun, Chang Cheng-fang, Kang Yu-wei and Liang Tun-yen.



FAN YUAN-LIEN APPOINTED MINISTER OF EDUCATION

The acceptance of the Acting-Presidency by General Feng leaves General Li a private citizen, and if what he says is true that is what he prefers to remain. There is a large element in the South who will strive to secure him as a rallying point, but those who have known General Li best feel sure that he will not again be dragged into political strife.

The Cabinet

By the evening of July 17 the Premier had made so much progress with his Cabinet making that he was able to announce in the Gazette published next morning the appointment of the Ministers of Interior, Finance, Communications, Commerce, Justice and Education. Thus on that date Cabinet stood as follows, though the Minister of the Navy was endeavoring to avoid taking up office on the ground that the Navy was undoubtedly siding with the Constitutionalists:

Premier	General Tuan Chi-jui
War	General Tuan Chi-jui
Navy	Admiral Liu Kuan-hsiung
Foreign Affairs	Mr. Wang Ta-hsieh
Interior	Mr. Tung Hua-lung
Finance	Mr. Liang Chi-chiao
Communications	Mr. Tsao Ju-lin
Justice	Mr. Lin Chang-min
Commerce	Mr. Chang Kuo-kan
Education	Mr. Fan Yuan-lien

Thus the Cabinet contains but one military man, General Tuan Chi-jui, who acts both as Premier and Minister of War. The other members do not please the Constitutionalists on the ground that some are monarchists and all are members of the opposition party, the Chinputang, or are sympathetic with it. There is not a representative of the Constitutionalists named. Premier Tuan claims that he purposely avoided the Young China Party because he had learned from experience that a coalition Cabinet at this stage of political development in China is unworkable and therefore impossible.

The formation of a Cabinet had the effect of giving greater tranquillity to the populace of Peking, and the foreign Legations were gratified since it seemed to bring nearer the consummation of the war measure which the Premier had taken up with such enthusiasm just before he was dismissed. When the various Foreign Ministers visited the Foreign Office to congratulate the new incumbent of the office they took occasion to express the hope that it would not be long before China would be co-operating with them against Germany, and it was gathered that the Cabinet intended seriously to consider the question with a view to declaring war at an early date.

The first meeting of the Cabinet was held on July 20 when discussion took place as to the steps to be taken to overcome the opposition of the South. The Chinputang members of the Cabinet expressed themselves against a reconocation of the dissolved Parliament, and the balance agreed with them, it being then decided to abandon that idea.

As recognition of the dissolved Parliament is the major claim of the South the new Cabinet has thrown down the gage, though they hope to minimise the effect by arranging for the election of a new Parliament. Mr. Liang Chi-chiao was one of the strongest advocates against a reconocation of the old Parliament and in favor of a new election. Some time was occupied in discussing the method to be adopted but nothing was decided upon.

The South and a Separate Government

Meantime the Constitutionalists were hard at work in Shanghai and Canton, arranging for support in their projected campaign. Dr. Sun Yat-sen and other leaders went to Canton and suggested making that city the Provisional Capital of China, inviting President Li Yuan-hung, the members of the dissolved Parliament and the Navy to assemble there "to organize a Republican Government."

The Kwang'ung Provincial Assembly voted in favor of despatching a punitive force against the North, and with this suggestion there is considerable sympathy in political circles.

Most of the members of the dissolved Parliament had assembled at Shanghai and it was proposed by them that Parliament should meet in that vicinity. Simultaneous efforts were made to persuade General Feng Kuo-chang not to go to Peking to take up the Acting-Presidency, but to cast in his lot with the Constitutionalists against the Militarists. Numerous special messengers had been sent to Nanking by General Tuan Chi-jui to induce General Feng to take up office in Peking as Acting-President, but he showed no disposition to venture North without a large bodyguard—20,000 troops being suggested.

Ex-President Li Yuan-hung, ostensibly because of illness, remained in the shelter of the Legation Quarter, as a patient in the French Hospital, but so far as could be learned he refused absolutely either to resume office in the North or go to the South. As the one who dissolved Parliament and facilitated the existing difficulties he had little "face" to proceed to the headquarters of the opponents of the measure, though they indicated that they were ready to regard his action as being due to compulsion.



GENERAL LI HOU-CHI TUCHUN OF FUKIEN WHO APPEALED FOR TROOPS TO RESIST POSSIBLE NORTHWARD MOVEMENT OF NEW CHINA FORCES FROM KWANTUNG

The chief Presidential seals, sent south to be delivered to General Feng Kuo-chang, were retained by the Southern leaders, and their hope was to be able to hand them over to Li Yuan-hung for use in a Republic established south of the Yangtze. In case Li refused to go South, and in the hope that General Feng would throw his weight in with them they intimated to him that they had the seals to deliver to him if he would undertake to insist upon the reassembling of the dissolved Parliament and if he would agree to uphold the Provisional Constitution as designed at Nanking. General Feng did not hurry to satisfy them on these points, for the very simple reason that he had not made up his own mind. He had much to lose by going to Peking without properly preparing the way, and he

had more to lose if he precipitately cast his lot in with the South, and the North eventually triumphed. So while he pondered the situation he gave no satisfaction to either side.

A Southern View

The *Peking Gazette*, which has always strongly supported the South, to make clear the attitude of the South set out the situation between the factions as follows:

"Prior to the imperial restoration the campaign was against the northern Tuchuns, including General Tuan Chi-jui himself, for using military force to compel the President to dissolve Parliament. Looking from this point of view the southern Tuchuns would be regarded as "Protectors" of the Republic and the northern Tuchuns as "rebels." Upon the imperial restoration becoming an accomplished fact all the northern Tuchuns also become "Protectors" of the Republic and this joined with the southern Liberals. The issues thus became confused, and no one can say just now to what extent opposition still exists against General Tuan Chi-jui and those who took active part in the so-called military demonstration. On the part of Tuan Chi-jui and the northern Tuchuns, they certainly consider themselves to be meritorious in every sense of the word but such a view can hardly be accepted by the people in the South.

"What then is the southern view? It is this. Chang Hsun's rebellion against the Republic was the result of the rebellion of the northern Tuchuns, and the rebellion of the northern Tuchuns was the result of a situation created by no other person than Tuan Chi-jui himself. By creating a situation which was almost treason and tacitly approving the Tuchuns in the concentration of their forces near Peking to intimidate President Li Yuan-hung, according to the opinion of the South, Tuan Chi-jui was culpable. Furthermore it was also the northern Tuchuns, who encouraged Chang Hsun in his arbitrary acts. Therefore, the suppression of the imperial restoration could not be considered as meritorious on the part of Tuan Chi-jui or any of the northern Tuchuns who were carrying on a rebellion. Just as the action of Chang Hsun could not have been considered meritorious so the act of Tuan Chi-jui or any of the northern Tuchuns cannot be claimed to be meritorious because they have suppressed a rebellion that was practically of their own making. If this argument is to be accepted then it naturally follows that Tuan Chi-jui and the northern Tuchuns remain criminals until formally exonerated by law. From this it follows that as Tuan Chi-jui and the northern Tuchuns are still criminals in the cause that they have not yet been exonerated by the proper authorities, they are, therefore, unqualified to hold responsible posts in the service of the Republic. In certain circles the accusation even goes further. It says that Tuan Chi-jui and the northern Tuchuns actually brought about the imperial restoration in order that they might achieve merits and thus regain their lost prestige as the result of the "military remonstrance." Such an extreme view, however, must be taken as unreasonable and should be ruled out of consideration.

"The question then is who are those opposed to Tuan Chi-jui and the northern Tuchuns. We may venture to say that all the Liberals in the South are against Tuan Chi-jui and his supporters. By "Liberals" we do not only mean the Kuomintang but also the majority of the thinking people of the South, who, whether they agree with the Kuomintang or not regarding its policies, do agree with them in the view that Tuan Chi-jui was responsible for the rebellion of the northern Tuchuns and the said rebellion is an offence amenable to law."

The Kuomintang and the War Question

Allegations having been made by a Shanghai paper that the Kuomintang Party in the recent Parliament opposed the question of China entering the war against Germany several of the moderate leaders of the party published a manifesto setting out their position. It was signed by Wu Ching-lien, Speaker of the House, C. T. Wang, Vice-President of the Senate, Lin Sun, President of the Nanking Provisional Assembly, Quo Tai-chi, former Secretary of President Li Yuan-hung, and others, and was as follows:

Owing to the publication in a foreign paper in Shanghai of an article dealing with the alleged activities of the Germans in China, there is danger of the impression being created that the Min Tang (Kuomintang) are as a party opposed to a Chinese declaration of war against Germany. We have categorically to deny this view.

It is within the knowledge of the American and Allied Legations in Peking that some of the leading members of the Min Tang were the first to advocate the entrance of China into the war and to urge on the then Premier Tuan Chi-jui the necessity of formulating a war-policy that would align China on the side of the democracies.

Whilst a few prominent members of the Min Tang believed that a departure from neutrality might increase the internal difficulties of China, it is undoubted that a majority of Min Tang members have favoured a Chinese intervention in the war. And we are in a position to state that even those of our party who have been opposed to war would at once acquiesce in a war-decision made by a Government whose loyalty to Republican principles and whose opposition to militarism were not in doubt.

Instead of saying that the Min Tang are opposed to China's joining the war on the side of America and the Entente Allies, it is true to say that the political creed of the Min Tang logically and inevitably commits the party as a whole to support a policy which would range China with the liberal powers at war with the Germanic States. We hold that if China is to survive as a modern state, she must grow strong. But to be made strong and yet not to be a menace and a danger to the world, China must be governed as the world's democracies as governed—according to freedom and not by the sword. It is for this reason that we believe in liberty and in the things of liberty—a free parliament, an unmuzzled press and the other guarantees and securities of democratic life. And it is for the same reason that we opposed the autocracy of Yuan Shih-kai and are now opposing the militarism of the latter's real successor—General Tuan Chi-jui.

We insist that the democracy of China is facing the same issue that is being fought out in Europe—government by the soldier's sword or government according to the will of the governed. General Tuan Chi-jui's training and experience as a servant of Manchu autocracy disable him—just as Yuan Shih-kai was disabled—from governing this country as a democratic state.

Exodus of Parliament to Canton

The plan of the Parliamentary leaders to retain the presidential seals for President Li was frustrated by the arraignment in the Shanghai mixed court of General Ting Hwai, their temporary custodian, his subsequent conviction and the handing over of both seals and custodian to the Shanghai defense commissioner for return to Peking. The President also defeated the plan of the Parliamentarians for a removal of the Government to Shanghai by persisting in his retirement and refusal to accept again the presidency. All hope of centering the activities of the deposed parliament in Shanghai having been frustrated, the leaders of the New China party and many members of the Parliament set out for Canton, among the first to go being Sun Yat-sen and Tong Shao-yi. Dr. Sun was given flattering receptions at various cities en route, and a veritable ovation in Canton. C. T. Wang, vice-president of the Senate and other Parliamentary leaders followed. A few days later, the Chinese press carried statements regarding the formation of a provisional government in Canton with the following officials: Premier, Inspector General Lu Yung-ting; Minister of War, Governor Chu Ching-lan of Kwangtung; Minister of the Navy, Admiral Chen Pi-kwan; Foreign Affairs, Dr. Wu Ting-fang; Finance, Tong Shao-yi; Justice, Wang Chung-hui; Agriculture and Commerce, Chang Chien.

Despite reiterated urgings on the part of Vice-President Feng Kuo-chang and others, including also the southern leaders, to induce President Li Yuan-hung to recall his resignation, the President remained obdurate to all appeals and insisted that Feng Kuo-chang whom he had appointed acting President come to Peking to take over the reins of Government. According the Vice-President set out from Nanking accompanied by his bodyguard on the morning of July 31st. His family, having preceded him, arrived in Peking several days before. That same day a pronunciamiento was issued by Premier Tuan Chi-jui in part as follows:

"Henceforward we will seek to have a popular organ which by its Constitution will co-operate with the Government and be suitable to the present condition of the people. Then it may be hoped that the republican form of government will be permanently secured in Eastern Asia and peace in China and the tranquillity of the Far East may be highly promoted."

What Does Japan Want?

Japanese Believe the Ishii Mission will find America Ready to Commit Herself on Thorny Questions

Since America's entry into the great war it has been found expedient among the Allies to follow the precedent set by France and Great Britain in Europe, and to exchange delegations of military and other experts between America and the various Allied Powers of Europe. The purpose of these special missions is the achievement of close co-operation in the pursuit of the war upon the Central Powers between the nations interested in suppressing Prussianism.

In all cases the emissaries are also supposed to extend the usual polite congratulations and pledges of support and to toast everything toastable in war time beverages. The mission to Russia has somewhat heavier duties, as it is hoped that the Russian people will permit it to assist in the reorganization which the newly created democracy seems to require, and now that we are to have an exchange of missions between Japan and America the political prophets would have us believe that the respective agents of the two nations will be instructed to work in a still wider field and settle the questions which have only an indirect kind of step-relation with war problems, the settlement of which should normally demand no immediate haste or diplomatic pressure from either side.

Neither from Washington nor from Tokio have come any official pronouncements which give us the slightest clue to whatever ulterior purposes the Ishii mission, for instance, has, but the fact that the press of America and Japan have leaped at once to the conclusion that there are ulterior purposes, shows how the public mind in both countries is working. While there is nothing to prove that the Ishii Mission in America is going to do any more (if as much) as the Balfour-Viviani mission, or the Russian Mission, or the Rumanian Mission, the newspapers insist that it will be strange if the immigration question, the question of anti-Japanese legislation in the western states, the disposition of the Pacific Islands taken from Germany, the problem of patrolling the Pacific, the disposition of the American mercantile fleet, the retention by Japan of Tsingtao, the recognition of the Japanese Monroe Doctrine, the question of commercial co-operation in the Orient, and the American recognition of Japan's special privileges and position in China, are not definitely settled and agreed upon before Viscount Kikujiro Ishii returns to his native land. This seems like rather a large order for the Viscount, but the Japanese press will not be satisfied if he does not fill it. Since there is no official foundation for these newspaper assumptions, it is only fair to reason that, coming in such volume as they do, and with such insistence they represent at least the Japanese hope for the immediate solution of these numerous problems and the American anticipation of this hope.

It will be remembered by those who read an article upon the unusual remarks made by Mr. Lindsay Russell, entitled "Lindsay Russell and his Sacred Treasure," which appeared in the FAR EASTERN REVIEW for July, that on June 12 Mr. Russell expressed the opinion that the settlement and acknowledgment of Japan's special position in the Far East should be made now and not at the post-bellum peace conference. It will also be remembered that on that date Mr. Lindsay Russell, who is a recognized spokesman for Japan in New York, received the Second Order of the Sacred Treasure, and now that all these newspaper conjectures upon the ulterior purposes of the Ishii Mission have appeared, it may be noted that Viscount Ishii was appointed special delegate on June 12. This is probably coincidental. There is nothing to prove that the coincidence reflects the state of the official Japanese mind as the press conjectures reflect the popular Japanese hope for definition of Japan's position—and yet it may.

Immediately after the announcement of Viscount Ishii's appointment the Japanese press began its conjectures and expressed its hopes. The inclusion of Vice Admiral Takeshita in the mission suggested that there would be naval matters of importance to discuss—hence the American Pacific fleet and American merchant vessels on the Pacific would probably be asked to remove to the Atlantic and leave the whole expanse of water between the American continents, Asia, and Australia, to a Japanese patrol and to a Japanese commercial monopoly. The presence of Major-General Sugano was of course merely a formal inclusion, for the Japanese authorities have no military matters to discuss with the United States or any other Allied Power, or at least it is hoped in Japan that there will be no such discussions, as Japan is set upon keeping her soldiery at home "to maintain peace in the Far East."

The Tokio *Asahi* concluded at once that the mission would have to deal with the question of the disposition of the South Sea Islands taken from Germany by the Japanese and Australian naval forces. The following is the *Asahi's* expression of surmises and hopes:

We want to believe that the mission of the embassy has reference chiefly to the naval question, that is of defense of the Pacific Ocean, and also to the question of the islands in the South Pacific occupied by Japan in the war with Germany. Certainly there are army officers, too, in the mission. But there can be no army question between Japan and America. There is, we believe, a need of establishing a basic understanding between Japan and America concerning the Pacific problem, political as well as naval. Especially after the beginning of the present war, the problem has assumed a more practical turn, and after America joined in the war the need of such understanding has come to be very keenly felt. But this problem needs to be solved not only during the war but also permanently. That we should arrive at a full understanding between Japan and America concerning the occupied islands in the South Pacific is one of the most important matters of the Pacific problem after the war.

The *Chugwai Shogyo* touches lightly upon the possibility of a settlement of Japan's status in China in the following evasive sentences:

Regarding the Chinese question, the relations between Japan and America are very important. The Government has given out a statement that the mission of Viscount Ishii has nothing to do with the present question of America's advice to China. The editor does not want to question that matter further. He only wishes that the Government should succeed in diplomacy. Now we are to have two ambassadors in America. The editor hopes that friendly understanding will be arrived at between the two nations.

The *Hochi* exhorts the members of the mission to deal frankly with the American people, assuring them that the Americans like frankness, and that straight dealing will accelerate the settlement of an American-Japanese understanding. The *Hochi* anticipates that China will be the center of the diplomacy of the world powers after the war and thinks that if China is not to share the experiences of the Balkans, the relative position of the Powers—needless to say the special position of Japan—should be settled now so that after the war there will be no ground for dispute. An understanding with America should be reached by the Ishii mission, says the *Hochi*, and, if need be, an alliance might be entered upon.

The Tokyo *Nichi-Nichi* hopes that the mission is empowered to settle all questions arising in America concerning Russia, China, and the South Sea Islands, that America will be brought to recognize Japan's special position in the Far East, and that

matters will be so arranged that there will be no room for post-bellum disputes.

While these thoughts were emanating from Japanese minds it would appear that similar ideas were maturing in American minds, for the *Asahi* news service has brought to Japan very similar surmises expressed by American newspapers. An *Asahi* despatch from New York of June 25 quotes the *Times*, the *Evening Post*, and the *World*, as warning Japan not to "take advantage of the opportunity afforded by the sending of the Ishii Mission to Washington, to attempt to secure from the United States recognition of Japan's special interests and influence in the Far East." The quotations which follow this *Asahi* summary have much less to say of the Ishii Mission than of the disputed American note to China, but the *Asahi* correspondent chose to read into them the warning above quoted.

While this discussion of the possible aims of the Mission is going on a paragraph from a recent speech by Viscount Monoto in the Imperial Diet is interpreted by the Japanese as a partial clue to the attitude which the Ishii delegation is instructed to adopt. The quotation is as follows:

"The Japanese Government feels that the time is premature to speak of peace terms, but since the 'no indemnity, no annexation' principle was proposed by a section of the Russian nation, some Japanese may feel anxious about the future of Tsingtau and the South Sea possessions which Japan wrested from Germany. The government, however, is extending every possible effort to retain our rights in the Pacific and I firmly believe the government will never dissatisfy you in the disposition of these territories at the peace conference."

While this serves as a vague clue to the Japanese motive in sending delegates to America, a later New York despatch carried by the *Asahi* service, would tend to prove, if it can be considered accurate, that the Japanese mission was not of Japan's making, but has been despatched in response to an invitation from Washington; so the initiative lies with America. The following report is quoted from the Washington correspondent of the New York *Tribune*:

The dispatch of Viscount Ishii as Japan's special envoy to the United States has been decided upon at the request of the Washington Government, not on the initiative of Japan. Since the United States asked that Viscount Ishii be sent, this government will present problems which it wishes solved after the arrival of the Ishii Mission.

The most important problem to be discussed by Viscount Ishii and the American Government is that of Japanese immigration to the western states, a question long pending. Seeing that Japan is a member of the Entente union, of which the United States is also a member, the American Government desires to dispel all the feelings of unfriendliness or resentment which sections of the American public hold toward the Japanese.

The Japanese envoy will propose that all the American merchantmen now employed in services on the Pacific be transferred to the Atlantic so as to increase the transportation facilities between the United States and Europe. He will also propose that Japan will guard American commerce in the Pacific by extending the patrolling zone of the Japanese Navy over the entire Pacific Ocean, thereby enabling the American Navy to concentrate its entire strength on the Atlantic.

The significance of all this guessing, innuendo, and shifting of responsibility, which apparently have no official statements of any sort for a foundation can only be arrived at by those who know the peculiar mental attitude of Japanese and of foreign residents in the Far East towards one another. The Japanese people feel that they have not won great merit in the sight of Americans and Europeans by the part they have played in the great war—they would probably say they were unappreciated. It is generally recognized that while Japan has done much in patrolling the Pacific, the Indian Ocean, and latterly the Mediterranean, what she has done has been very largely in the interest of her own merchant marine, and that for her active participation she has rewarded herself by retaining the German holdings in China and the South Seas, which she hopes to keep. It is further recognized that in return for the munitions and supplies furnished to Russia, the Japanese merchants, bankers, and shipping men have been rewarded by a fair, if not a liberal profit, and that these services have not entailed any sacrifices, but have been in the line of very good business.

The liberal advertisement which the presentation of the Twenty-one Demands to China under the Okuma regime received in all quarters of the world, the constant reiteration in the Japanese press of the Okuma doctrine of making hay while the sun shines on a clear field in China, and the recent quibble about the American note to China, have also created the impression that Japan is inclined to take advantage of the distraction of all minds in Europe and America to get an unbreakable hold upon China.

Whether just or unjust, the opinion among foreigners in the Far East has been that Japan has not earned a great and lasting reward through her participation in the war and that many things which have been taken from China would be restored to her when such questions come up for discussion at the eventual peace conference. This state of the foreign mind is naturally reflected by the Japanese mind, and there is a growing uneasiness in Japan and a fear of the ultimate peace conference decisions which are manifest in the journals of all parties. This has become more acute since America has entered the war. It is naturally assumed that the influence of the various Powers at the conference will be to some extent in keeping with the sacrifices made, the treasure expended, and the general effort made towards a victorious climax. America is apparently going into the war much more whole-heartedly than Japan did. America is likely to have a big share in the disposition of the war prizes at the end of the war, and America takes a benevolent interest in China and a political interest in the islands of the Pacific. Since Japan does not stand high in the favour of foreigners in the Orient, since the Far Eastern estimate of Japan will certainly be reflected to some extent in executive circles in Europe and America, it is therefore essential that Japan's right to hold what she has been recognized now and not after the war, when Japan's value and importance as the policeman of the Far East will have shrunk materially.

It is therefore essential that Japan bring these matters up while her passive allegiance is still valuable and that she extract from America a pledge that her holdings will be confirmed at the peace conference.

This is why the Japanese people, represented by the Japanese press, hopes that Viscount Ishii is empowered to settle all outstanding disputes concerning Japan's special rights in China, her hold upon Shantung, and her captured German islands in the Pacific. This popular hope for an immediate settlement favourable to Japan has also been eloquently expressed for the Japanese by the recognized Japanese propagandist Mr. Lindsay Russell, President of the Japan Society of New York, and this gives the aspiration an official colouring.

Mr. Russell's activities in the interests of Japan and against the interests of China and of American prestige in China were amply discussed in the July number of the FAR EASTERN REVIEW in the article already referred to. Since then, however, a clear statement of American opinion upon Mr. Russell has given our contentions unimpeachable confirmation. As a result of the press reports of the remarks made by the propagandists before and coincidental with his decoration by the Mikado, the executive committee of the American Association of North China, in a special session, drafted and sent the following cablegram to the American Asiatics Association of New York City.

"American Association of North China protests against Lindsay Russell's speech regarding bankruptcy and receivership China as unjust, unwarranted by facts, untrue, and detrimental to American interests here. Moreover, is directly contrary to China open-door policy of all nations and avowed principles for which America and Allies now fighting for right of weaker nations to maintain independence and choose own government. Suggest you request Japan Society publicly disavow responsibility for speech, expressing disapproval of same, and giving disavowal equal publicity with that given speech. Request publicity this cablegram."

In addition to this the Associations in Shanghai and Tientsin were asked to co-operate in the protest. A few days later a cabled reply was received from the Japan Society, that Mr. Russell's remarks had not to that time been given publicity in America, but that the matter would be dealt with editorially in *Asia Magazine*. *Nous verrons!*

Why Not a Commission to China?

The United States recently sent to Russia a staff of a dozen or more men whose collective services are probably worth on the open market almost half a million dollars gold a year and who represent the highest tide of achievement in their various professions. It is probable that there is no one of them whom Russia could hire at any salary to help straighten out the tangled skeins of her administration and her industrial life, but this dozen or more of experts has been officially deputed, ordered off to Siberia, and thence to Petrograd, by President Wilson as a special service and courtesy to what is for the moment the most chaotic government in Europe. Russia needs organization, ideas, inspiration, guidance, money, and a good deal more; but it is doubtful whether she needs any of these things more than China does. While commissions are in fashion, and while delegations from one land to another are received with such whole-souled acclamation, it is impossible to avoid speculating upon what a group of men, as thoroughly equipped to do good work and as willing to do it as that which has gone to Russia, could do in China if the Chinese only had sufficient knowledge of their own weaknesses to ask for it and then to allow it to do something when it arrived. The difference between Russia and China is that Russia knows her short-comings and her weaknesses and will welcome help, while China, though vociferously humble on the surface, deems herself perfect at heart and would, out of the peculiar Oriental nature of things, make it exceptionally difficult and baffling for any group of outsiders who tried to do anything for the country.

While this is the nature of the Chinese and especially of Chinese officials, as any adviser to the Chinese Government in Peking will testify with more eloquence than coherence, an enormous amount of good could certainly be done and a tremendously good example could be set the groping, blundering leaders of the Chinese people by a group of capable men selected for their capacity in restraining their enthusiasms and in facing procrastination and obstinacy, not to mention misguided native pride, with infinite patience. The interest in Russia is naturally intense. The duration of the war, with its stupendous waste of life, industrial energy, and material, is in no small measure dependent upon the attitude which the young Russian democracy finally adopts towards America and the Allies, and the power with which this now erratic organization is able to carry out its ultimate decisions. China's international position for the time being is overshadowed by Russia, and as the United States Government has advised the Peking administration, the world is much more interested in seeing China settle her domestic squabbles than in her participation in Occidental affairs. But with Russia settled and well launched upon a definite course, China will present the next great problem. The whole world has been announcing for two years that the commercial and diplomatic struggle which is scheduled to follow the present tempest of steel and blood will center in the Far East, and China is the great throbbing heart of the Orient. America has always taken at least a sentimental interest in Chinese affairs, and the kindly disposition of the

American people towards Peking is just beginning to take a practical and useful form. American friendship in the past has been assured but not demonstrative; nevertheless the Chinese believe in America's sincerity, and while they are not a people to take advice gracefully from any one, they would certainly take it more gracefully from America than from any other power. In view of the fact that international attention will undoubtedly be focused upon the Orient and especially upon China immediately after the war, China has been repeatedly warned through many mediums that she will be expected to have her premises swept and dusted and ready for the reception of the Westerners who will come whether they are welcome or not. It is not quite reasonable to expect that China will be in any

degree rehabilitated at the end of the war. The nature of governments like the nature of men changes slowly, so the same political melee which was raging in and about Peking when war broke out in 1914, is raging still and one has to stand a long way off and get a good perspective on the situation to see that anything has been achieved in the past three years of turmoil. And yet this much has been done: China has been brought to realize that the only sort of government worth shaping at all is a democratic government, and an efficient democratic government is the advertised goal of all the political factions in the field. The end is pretty certainly determined upon, as it was not in 1911, and the disputes of 1917 rage about the ways and means, as they are likely to do for some years to come unless these ways and means are shaped by persons other than Chinese, persons in no wise involved in the countless petty jealousies and meaner ambitions which regulate politics in Peking.

Advisers the Chinese have for display purposes only. The greatest merit in an adviser to the Chinese Government is perennial retirement. The less he appears, the less he advises, the less he talks to the officials of his department or about the affairs of his department, the less does he interfere with the subtle and elusive course of Oriental politics and the more is he

esteemed. The Chinese have many sincere and patriotic men in their political maelstrom, but honest or otherwise, there is not one of them but likes to do things and see things done in the Chinese way, which, as they never fail to point out, always gets there. The point is that it does not get there in time. China, in Chinese hands, is progressing remarkably, though by devious routes and by no means smoothly, and given time the Chinese people under their own leaders would undoubtedly adapt themselves to modern conditions and evolve a nation and a government well fitted to take its place in the family of nations and care for its own interests. In this age, however, time is precious, and with the interest of a dozen energetic Western peoples centering upon China and her hidden and half developed resources, the saving of time should be of the most vital importance to the Chinese.

Nothing could do China so much good as a friendly overhauling. By friendly we mean disinterested—not formally and politely friendly, nor friendly in the diplomatic sense, for



ALEXANDRE KERENSKY, THE MAN OF RUSSIA'S REVOLUTION,
NOW PREMIER AND MINISTER OF WAR



SENATOR ROOT AND GENERAL BRUSILOFF



SENATOR ROOT (SMOKING A CIGAR) MR. TERESCHENKO, IN THE CENTRE, AND GENERAL SCOTT, IN UNIFORM



SENATOR ROOT, IN HIS RECEPTION ROOM AT THE WINTER PALACE



MR. CHARLES R. CRANE, MEMBER OF THE MISSION. MR. CRANE WAS NOMINATED BY MR. TAFT AS MINISTER TO CHINA



AMERICAN MEMBERS OF MISSION AND RUSSIAN OFFICIALS TAKEN BEFORE A GOVERNMENT BUILDING, THE GENERAL HEADQUARTERS OF THE RUSSIAN ARMY AT STAFFKA. FROM LEFT TO RIGHT THE FIGURES ON THE FRONT ROW ARE MR. TERESCHENKO (RUSSIAN MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS), GENERAL BRUSILOFF (COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE RUSSIAN ARMIES), SENATOR ROOT (AMERICAN SPECIAL AMBASSADOR TO RUSSIA AND HEAD OF THE SPECIAL MISSION), GENERAL HUGH SCOTT (COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE AMERICAN ARMY), AND COLONEL R. E. L. MISCHIE (AIDE TO GENERAL SCOTT).



GROUP OF AMERICAN ARMY OFFICERS PHOTOGRAPHED IN THE TSAR'S DRAWING ROOM ON THE IMPERIAL TRAIN WHICH CARRIED THE AMERICAN COMMISSION FROM VLADIVOSTOCK TO PETROGRAD. THE OFFICERS FROM LEFT TO RIGHT ARE COLONEL JUDSON, MAJOR STANLEY WASHBURN, MAJOR KURTZ, LIEUT-COLONEL PARKER, LIEUT-COLONEL T. B. MOTT, AND CAPTAIN FRANCIS RIGGS. THIS IS THE DRAWING ROOM IN WHICH THE TSAR SURRENDERED HIS RIGHT TO THE THRONE. HE SIGNED THE WRIT OF ABDICATION ON THE SMALL TABLE AT THE RIGHT OF THE PICTURE.



GENERAL SCOTT, CHIEF OF STAFF OF THE AMERICAN ARMY, PHOTOGRAPHED AT THE WINTER PALACE



GENERAL BRUSILLOFF, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE RUSSIAN ARMY, PHOTOGRAPHED AT STAFFKA



ADMIRAL GLENNON, U.S. NAVY, NAVAL REPRESENTATIVE WITH THE MISSION



SENATOR ROOT (SEATED) AND MR. SAMUEL BERTRON, NEW YORK BANKER AND FINANCIAL REPRESENTATIVE ON THE MISSION



CHARLES EDWARD RUSSELL, SOCIALIST MEMBER OF MISSION, TAKEN IN THE MAIN DRAWING ROOM OF THE WINTER PALACE AT PETROGRAD



MR. BASH MILES (IN THE DERBY HAT), SECRETARY TO THE AMERICAN MISSION; JAMES DUNCAN (IN CIVILIAN ATTIRE IN THE REAR SEAT), VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND THE REPRESENTATIVE OF LABOR ON THE MISSION; MAJOR STANLEY WASHBURN (IN UNIFORM), ASSISTANT SECRETARY TO THE MISSION. MAJOR WASHBURN IS THE FAMOUS WAR-CORRESPONDENT FOR THE LONDON TIMES.

nothing has cost China so many heartaches as this diplomatic friendship. If the Chinese could be brought to see their needs, to ask for help, and to use it, their first care would be to choose their helpers from a nation that would come in, render the necessary services, and then get out without staking out half the territory of the Republic in private and national claims. It has been so much the fashion in China in the past to stake claims and to guard them with all the aggression and rigour of military occupations, that until very recently the most highly appreciated service that a foreign diplomat, prospector, or capitalist could do China was to stay at home. Within very recent years however the Chinese have come to make an exception to this rule and it is an exception that is conceded in the mind of every Chinese high or low throughout the land. Americans, American ideas, and American money are welcome. The reason for this is that the Chinese have come to believe with unbounded faith that America has no axe to grind. On the other hand the one people with whom the Chinese come in contact and with whom the good old rule of suspicion and exclusion holds good is the Japanese.

The moment anyone suggests commissions the Japanese are ready with a dozen. At various times in the past when the Chinese thought that the Japanese Government was taking too lively an interest in affairs on the continent of Asia and that the Powers might allot to Japan the task of straightening out China's affairs for her, there have been suggestions, half hearted and ill supported it is true, of an international advisory commission. As soon however as the Chinese found on these various occasions that they were to have a little more grace to rehabilitate their own government all enthusiasm for the international commission, which was only regarded as a lesser evil than a Japanese commission, subsided and was mentioned no more. Apart from the fact that the Chinese people would never voluntarily welcome Japanese participation in their government, whether advisory or active participation, there is no doubt that the Japanese are not preeminently fitted, at this stage of their development, to pass along to China the best in Occidental civilization. As a matter of international courtesy Japan is given the credit of being a modernized and efficient Power, ranking equally according to western standards, with the most progressive nations of the West. As a matter of fact everyone familiar with the East knows that this recognition is grounded solely in diplomatic expediency. The Occidental veneer over the ancient Oriental standards and institutions of Japan is very thin indeed, as the Japanese themselves often cheerfully admit. In reshaping their institutions to conform to Occidental standards they have done marvellously well, but in a hundred phases of private and national life they are still students, and while they should and do help mightily in the regeneration of less progressive neighbors by example, their best friends cannot claim that they are yet prepared to assume the roles of masters and instructors. In mechanical achievement, in the proper use of democratic institutions, which are now the only institutions worth while, and in educational work, they are as a people still primary students. China needs training in the fields of education, the science of government, and in practical mechanics more than anything else, and she needs expert instruction, which is not forthcoming from Japan.

Nevertheless Japan could be counted upon to register a mighty protest if China were to invite the United States or any European nation to furnish her with a commission of experts in duplicate of that which has just gone to Russia. A constant reiteration in the Japanese press of Japan's greatness and importance and of her right to an exclusive hegemony over China and other nations of the Far East, has gone unchallenged for so long, because it has not been diplomatically expedient to challenge any of these assumptions, that the Japanese have actually come to believe in them. The growth of American interests in China during the past year or so has been decidedly pleasing to the rank and file of the Chinese and has also been extremely irritating to whatever element in the Japanese nation is represented by the Japanese press. That an advisory commission from the United States to China would bring down upon itself the full weight of a Japanese press campaign is clearly shown by the storm in the Japanese teapot which the recent American note to China has raised. Ignoring the contents of the note and misrepresenting its purpose, the Japanese journals have with rare

logic attempted to prove that in exhorting the Chinese to settle their domestic squabbles the United States Government has not only interfered impertinently in China's affairs but has committed the heinous crime of having direct communication with the Chinese Government without either asking Japan's permission or consulting her wishes. Japan should have been consulted, they say, because she has a monopoly upon all knowledge of the East and of Far Eastern politics. This is an old argument and one founded upon extremely feeble premises. In presenting the case to the Chinese the Japanese papers have assumed a self righteous attitude which would be amusing if it were not irritating to those who remember the numerous and offensive communications which have been made to the Chinese Government by Japan on various occasions. A protest against a very friendly and very diplomatically worded American note comes ill from the people who tried to take over the entire business management of China's affairs as recently as 1915 and should be taken by the Chinese at its face value. The very natural retort to all this criticism, which has emanated from unofficial America, is that while Japan may take to herself the credit of preserving the "peace of the Far East" and claim the exclusive privilege of policing the Orient, the peace of China is now so intimately associated with the peace of the world and the interest in China is so universal that that great country can no longer be regarded as the reserved playground of Japanese expansionists or as a field for diplomatic experimentation, so Japan's exclusive interests will be ignored whenever they chance to conflict with the bigger interest of the world at large. The unofficial Japanese protests against the American note really mean very little and the uproar will doubtless subside in a short time, but the incident serves to exemplify the Japanese attitude towards any benevolent interlopers in China and is an omen of what would come were China to appeal to America for a diplomatic commission like that which has gone to Russia. In this however as in the lesser matter of the recent note the crying need of reorganization in China under the same direction of disinterested advisers is a matter which is closely bound up with the peace and prosperity of the whole world, and here again world peace is something bigger than Far Eastern peace and Japan's attitude towards the question ceases to interest the world.

The great difficulty that would arise if the despatch of such a commission were suggested and made an appeal to the American mind, would be that of bringing the Chinese to recognize its value and ask for it, and unless she asked for it and voluntarily put the members of the commission in a position where they could do effective work it would be a hopelessly useless body in this land of passive obstruction no matter how much genius were represented in its personnel. The commission to Russia includes diplomats, military men, railway experts, financial experts, and a man with a wide knowledge of the handling and treatment of war prisoners. China needs the railway men and the financiers badly, but she needs even more experienced government officers who have a sufficiently wide knowledge of politics to adapt Western institutions to Chinese needs and give the long suffering Chinese people a modern government, for which they have been waiting in vain these six years. Such active participation in domestic affairs—the sort of participation that has made Siam—would interfere so largely with the petty ambitions of a horde of petty politicians that the opposition to issuing an invitation to the exacting foreigner to come in and help would meet with the strongest opposition in Peking—not to mention Shanghai and Canton—and would doubtless set on foot a campaign to make the commission system as futile and innocuous as the present system of advisers. It is the sort of scheme which Chinese politicians naturally avoid with horror until the country is in some sad international difficulty, or until it is miserably poor and in need of foreign financing. Great as is the need of a hasty and complete reorganization and of the development of civilized institutions over the vast surface of the country, it is unlikely that China will see fit to ask for help from anyone until things are much worse in Peking than they are now, or until help is thrust upon her from some quarter from which it is decidedly unwelcome. One can do little more therefore than speculate upon what a fully empowered commission might do and hope against all likelihood that the Chinese people will either realize their need of outside help or settle down seriously to straightening out their own affairs while there is yet time.

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WHAT OF THE MANCHUS?

In spite of the efforts which are being made by the friends of the Manchu Imperial Household and of the various Princes who still derive certain unearned benefits from the Chinese nation, there is a strong tendency manifested in both North and South China to use the Chang Hsun restoration as an excuse for curtailing allowances, honours, and privileges, which the younger generation of Chinese frankly begrudges the fallen house. Forgetful of the exact circumstances under which the Manchus gave way before the democrats in 1912, the critics of 1917 are accusing the Manchu Imperial clan of ingratitude and treachery, charging them with being forgetful of the extreme leniency with which they have been treated, and the special privileges which they have been permitted to retain, in contrast to all the examples of history. While it has been generally felt that the existence of an Emperor, retaining the Imperial title and retaining as Imperial property the magnificent palaces in the very heart of the capital of a full fledged Republic, was something of an anomaly, and that neither the title, nor the court organization, nor the special allowance of \$4,000,000 a year could go on for many more years, the Government has never seen their way clear to an abolition of these anachronisms. The examples of history did not apply very exactly in this case. The Manchus were not actually defeated in warfare, nor unseated by violence, but as the documents existing prove, they issued, under pressure from Yuan Shih-kai and other Chinese advisers, a permit to the Chinese people to establish a republican form of government. The change of the form of government came as the result of a compromise, after a little fighting in the Yangtze Valley and a great deal of negotiating in Shanghai and Peking, and the price paid for the peaceful retirement of the Manchu rulers was the Chinese guarantee of favourable treatment, special allowances, the continuance of the Emperor's title during his lifetime, etc., etc.

Although it is generally recognized that the young Emperor, his Guardian and his nearest relatives and Manchu followers were in no wise to blame for Chang Hsun's assumption of the office of kingmaker, and were in fact bitterly opposed to the restoration in some quarters, the season is looked upon as an opportune one for curtailing the rights and honours guaranteed, on the ground that the restoration has warranted a breach of faith on the part of the Chinese people. As a matter of expediency this is certainly advisable, for with a host of Manchu princes still at large, always covetous of the ancient privileges which the Republic has taken from them, and with a host of elderly Chinese, inspired by idealistic loyalty, always ready to conspire with them, there will be monarchy movements and restoration conspiracies afoot as long as there is a semblance of royalty left to the Imperial Manchu family, and there seems no good reason for the Chinese people to support and protect this fetish of old world fanaticism.

If abstract justice and good faith enter into the councils of the Republicans, however, it is difficult to see how very much can be done with the Imperial Family under the Favourable Treatment guarantee. Justice would dictate that there be an investigation; that if the Manchu Emperor and his immediate followers be found victims of Chang Hsun's coercion, they be absolved of guilt, and that the Manchus involved in the restoration plot should be treated precisely as the Chinese conspirators who encouraged and supported Chang Hsun.

As is usual in China, however, there will doubtless be a compromise between expediency and justice effected. General Tuan Chi-jui has already outlined a programme for dealing with the Imperial house which represents such a compromise, and while the South will clamour for the erasure of the last vestige of Imperialism from the capital and the reduction of the Emperor to the status of a Chinese civilian, just as men like Hsu Shih-Chang will advocate the re-establishment of the Manchu *status quo*, some such programme as that suggested by the reinstated Premier will probably be followed. In an interview, one of the Premier's confidential followers outlined this programme as follows: "The terms of the Favourable Agreement should be revised, the annual allowance should be reduced, the Imperial

Title should be abolished, and the Emperor should move out of the Imperial Palace."

The "leaders of the troops of the North," in a communication to the Government, which is quoted in a Peking paper, have a somewhat more drastic series of suggestions. They would withhold the allowance altogether, do away with the title of Emperor, make Hsuan Tung (whose private name is Pu-yi) an ordinary citizen, and have the palaces and all Imperial lands transferred to the Government as public property. The Shanghai republicans, while giving many suggestions, insist that the whole question should be dealt with by Parliament and that in the meanwhile no decision be made by the Tuan Government.

One thing is certain, the persons and the actual personal property of the Emperor and his relatives are quite safe, and after all this is nearly all they have a right to expect after the disorder created by their supporters in their name. Abstract justice they will not get. It would be cruel and unreasonable, however, to turn such a household out without adequate income and expect its members to fit into the Chinese community and become self-supporting. A dwindling allowance, sufficient to cover several generations and to permit and encourage the Manchu nobles to make themselves useful and self-supporting, would be a fair form of favourable treatment and in the end the most beneficial to the Chinese people and to the Manchus themselves. The various grades of Manchus who have lived on public funds for nine generations do not know how to live otherwise. To beggar them would be to make beggars of them. If no actual pension is granted they should be left enough property to support them, and the confiscation of such property should be extended over a long period. There is certainly no reason for keeping up the magnificent buildings of the Purple City for a small family that will be the nucleus of plots and incipient revolutions as long as it remains there, but in view of the very discreet behaviour of the immediate members of this family since the inception of the Republic and the circumstances under which they were recently forced by Chang Hsun to don their musty tinsel, there would be still less reason or justice in making prisoners of them or in reducing them to real poverty. One would think—though of these matters only Chinese can judge adequately—that a fair measure would be the exchange of the Imperial palaces and properties about Peking for lands in the center of China, the removal of the Imperial Family from the Capital to some spot in the heart of the Chinese people, and the abolition of titles. Under such circumstances the Manchus could be trusted to democratize themselves, and the attendant dimming of their imperial refulgence would be accompanied by a waning of enthusiasm on the part of the fanatical loyalists who scheme for their restoration. To exile them would be to make martyrs of them. To send them abroad would make them the puppets of foreign adventurers. In their present status they are a loadstone to conspirators; while as Chinese country gentlemen, they would and could be nothing else than Chinese country gentlemen.

CHINESE "JUSTICE"

The provisions of extraterritoriality are seldom discussed between Chinese and foreigners, and when they are discussed they are approached with fitting delicacy and caution; no phase of foreign relations is so thoroughly understood nor so constantly present in the minds of both foreigners in the East and of Chinese who have dealings of any sort with foreigners. To the foreign resident extraterritoriality is a mixed blessing. It assures him just treatment at the hands of the State by providing that all his civil relations with his co-residents in the Orient and with Orientals will be dealt with under the laws of his own State or under the laws of States which guarantee fair legislation and fair judicial treatment. On the other hand, in all international misunderstandings in foreign communities, this system permits of endless confusion, of evasion, and provides legal *cul de sacs* into which the wisest jurists sometimes plunge and find themselves helpless. To the Chinese mind extraterritoriality, though in

dealings with fair and just powers Chinese officialdom often finds itself vastly relieved of responsibility, is nothing but an unmixed insult. It means to the Chinese that they are rated as an inefficient, unjust, and dishonest people, who cannot be trusted to deal fairly with the outsiders in their midst, whose ancient institutions, of which they are overweeningly proud, are held in contempt. In the cases of some nations they even regard the system as a shield of unjust imposition and aggression. While there is a great deal of prejudice back of this feeling and not a little ignorant pride, one must grant that the situation founded upon extraterritorial rights for foreigners is certainly humiliating, that it serves as a barrier between genuine sympathy between Chinese and foreigners, and that it is the foundation of much of the anti-foreign feeling in enlightened Chinese communities which have shed the older antipathies founded largely upon gross superstition and inspired libel.

For these reasons there is scarcely a foreigner of good judgment who does not watch the growth of Chinese reforms and the reshaping of her legal and administrative systems with the hope that the embarrassing system of extraterritorial rights may be abolished with safety to foreign persons and interests in the fewest possible number of years. Every time the Chinese show sighs of genuine progress this consummation seems nearer, and every time they revert to chaos and internal disorder it seems more remote. The friends of China, who watch events closely with a view to abolishing the whole system at the earliest date possible, have seen much in the changes of the past few years to encourage them and a great deal besides to discourage them, but very little indeed which would warrant the immediate emancipation of the Chinese from this species of essential tyranny.

In an article published in last issue Mr. V. K. Ting, head of the geological survey in the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce, pointed out the difficulties under which his department had laboured in framing mining laws which would at one and the same time permit of the introduction of foreign capital in the development of Chinese mineral resources and protect the Chinese from professional claim-jumpers and foreign exploitation. Extraterritoriality was the stumbling block. The commission in charge of the drafting of the Mining Law of 1914 had finally shaped a system, he said, which has elicited much unfavourable comment, but which had since been found satisfactory by a number of British firms which were carrying on development work according to its provisions. On this basis Mr. Ting makes the sweeping assumption that if China can make one good law in her own interests which is at the same time no hindrance to the development of foreign business in China, there is every reason to believe that the Chinese can make equally satisfactory laws covering all phases of domestic and international affairs. Therefore, he assumes, it is time that the Treaty Powers abandon their privilege of exclusive jurisdiction over their citizens and subjects in China. One can only regret that Mr. Ting's logic is enfeebled through the weakness of his premises. His argument is inductive with one case. We only wish there were more. All foreigners in fact wish that China's laws were uniformly of such a nature, and their administration of such a character that they could dispense with the expensive, offensive, and confusing system of introducing something like a dozen codes of foreign law into every semi-foreign community big enough to foster civil and criminal cases between the various nationalities. If we grant for the sake of argument (and that is all we do) that the mining law and the mining administration have all the virtues which Mr. Ting claims for them, we must also call attention to the fact that the mining law is one of a very few satisfactory bits of legislation on paper in China and one of a still smaller class satisfactorily enforced.

There would be no reason to believe that if extraterritoriality were abandoned, the Chinese law makers and jurists would treat foreigners under their authority any better than they treat their own people at present, and the just judge in China is still the *rara avis* who gets a red umbrella when he moves from a community and has his shoes hung in a cage in the city gate. It must be impressed upon the Chinese advocates of Chinese jurisdiction over all within the country that such a condition would of necessity do away with foreign settlements, foreign volunteer corps to guard them, the fortified Legation Quarter in

Peking, and the detachments of picked men who make the Quarter a safe refuge not only for foreigners, but for persecuted and misused Chinese in seasons of internal anarchy. Bearing this in mind we have only to ask Mr. Ting and his colleagues to consider the Chang Hsun escapade. The great number of foreign houses owned by the Northern political leaders in Tientsin settlements, the number owned by the Manchus in Tsingtao, and the still greater number owned and occupied by the Southern revolutionary leaders in Shanghai, are in themselves eloquent testimony to the faith which the highest Chinese officials and patriots put in the administration of Chinese justice. The incumbent President of China is at this writing a protege of the Peking Legation Quarter, outside of which his life would not be safe. The patriotic movement in Tientsin to restore the Republican form of Government and reshape it, is carried on under the protection of foreign flags. When Chang Hsun reestablished the Empire, every Chinese who had a family and the money to pay for their housing hurried his kin and his valuables into the Legation Quarter or the Tientsin settlements because he could not trust them to the mercy or justice of his own people: The railway authorities could not keep the refugees off the freight trains, and every passenger train to Tientsin left hundreds of clamorous unfortunates behind on the Peking platform. Yet out of the pride of race and a prejudice in favour of the traditional institutions of his country every educated Chinese official will insist that China is ready to give foreigners protection and justice under Chinese law. The pitiable breakdown of this claim during recent weeks should be a powerful incentive to educated Chinese scholars and to returned students of Mr. Ting's class, to spare no efforts to give their claims a stouter substantiation in future. The disgrace of such events as the Chang Hsun incident should be a sharp spur to reform.

The Chinese must realize that extraterritoriality is not a western institution. When foreigners first arrived in China, there were none—with the exception of the Russians—who were inclined to insist upon a separate jurisdiction. There was a time in Canton when foreign offenders against Chinese law were delivered to the Chinese authorities for judgment and punishment, but Chinese methods so outraged the Occidental sense of humanity and justice that the Powers hastened to set up rules of their own for the handling of such cases and finally developed the system of extraterritoriality.

Flagrant bribery, torture, and inhuman punishments, characterized the administration of Chinese justice then, and while matters have vastly improved on the seaboard, it is safe to say that there is scarcely a resident of interior China who could not cite as flagrant cases of the abuse of justice in Chinese *yamens* during the term of the Republic as are recorded in the annals of foreign intercourse with China at Canton in the 18th century. It is difficult to understand how the advocates of the abandonment of extraterritoriality, who are familiar with the methods of both the Occident and the Orient, have the courage in the face of these facts to denounce the present system as unjustified tyranny over the Chinese and to advocate its abandonment.

CHINA AND THE RUSSIAN DEMOCRACY

While Tuan Chi-jui was previously Premier of China, and immediately after his dismissal from office, while China was still seriously considering the advisability of entering the war on the side of the Allies, there was none of the belligerents so closely watched by Far Eastern statesmen as Russia. Much of the indecision in Parliament over the war question, and much of the doubt expressed in the press, were inspired by the general fear that Russia was about to desert her allies and declare a separate peace as a result of the sweeping changes in national standards and ideals which came with the removal of the Tzar and the sudden assumption of power by the Russian common people. In a quiescent Russia the Chinese saw something of a menace to a belligerent China, and a great fear prevailed for

many weeks that there was about to develop a Russo-German alliance, and possibly a Russo-German-Japanese alliance, which would crush China like a nut in the crackers.

This interpretation of domestic politics in Russia, which was widespread in China for a time, had a strong influence upon the minds of those fearful for the immediate present and future, but the democratization of Russia made an utterly different impression upon the far-sighted, upon those who were not so immediately concerned with the present, but who looked forward to future foreign relations with the great neighbor on the north and west, and who with all their inherited fear of the methods of [the old bureaucratic country, realized that dealing with the Russian people in the next decade or in the next generation would be an entirely different problem from that of dealing with the agents of land-hungry absolutism.

For more than one reason Russia's internal changes are of the greatest possible interest to the Chinese. Russia, like Japan, never fails to have a diplomatic issue with China pending. Russia's position in Mongolia, the suggested construction of a Chinese-Mongol railway from Taonan in Manchuria to Urga, the capital of Outer Mongolia, and the question of China's sovereignty over the Kriankhai districts, upon which not only Russian settlers but also Russian officials have been encroaching, all served to bring China into what was, under the old Russian regime, an uncomfortably close and intimate relation with the Cossack outposts.

The Chinese Government has now been given to understand from various sources that the disputes which always threatened to be serious difficulties before, would be entered upon by the new government in an entirely new spirit, and that Russian influence in Mongolia would be decidedly less aggressive. A democracy, in all these questions of boundaries, disputed territories, and insistent encroachments, is bound to be more reasonable and fair than a bureaucracy, which can plan and execute its insidious schemes *in camera*, secure from the wholesome interference of the press and the intrusion of the people's sense of fair play to one's national neighbors. Nothing therefore could be more welcome to the Chinese diplomats than the complete triumph of democracy, and the report that the Petrograd Government has already abandoned its scheme of establishing Ministers of Colonization in outer Mongolia elicits a sigh of relief from the Chinese Foreign Office.

Under the Manchus the projected Russian railway across Mongolia and into the northern provinces of China was always looked upon with the greatest trepidation, whether it was to come by way of Urga, the Altai, or Ili, for Russia was looked upon as one of the ever hungry powers, with a land lust out of all proportion to her sense of right and wrong. For this reason, in their seasons of greatest poverty, the Manchus would never borrow money on the Peking-Kalgan-Railway, which runs directly north from the capital and in foreign hands would be a convenient link with a Russian line across the Gobi. For this reason the fall of Tang Shao-yi, who attempted to pledge the Kalgan line to a Belgian syndicate representing the Russians, just before his flight from Peking under Yuan Shih-kai's Presidency, was considered peculiarly just retribution. Now for the first time we find the Chinese taking some interest in the much needed railway into Mongolia and entering upon a discussion of a possible line from Taonan to Urga upon their own initiative. The Russian occupation of the trade centers in Outer Mongolia, has, thanks to the methods of approach and the class of merchants who came into the country, stifled a fair proportion of Mongol trade and has caused the withdrawal of many prosperous Chinese enterprises. A change of attitude and a frank rediscussion of the Russo-Chinese treaties coming from the Russians themselves would re-establish Chinese interest in the nominal dependencies in the north and would stimulate tremendously the development of Mongolia and Turkestan, both of which China needs badly for her overflow population. For these reasons the Chinese diplomats see fit to rejoice in the growth of democracy in Russia and to look forward to an easier settlement of standing disputes.

Perhaps the most serious unsettled misunderstanding with Russia is over the boundary of the Uriankhai area in north-

western Mongolia, an area formerly under the jurisdiction of a Manchu *amban*, resident at Uliassutai, but now part of the territory of the semi-independent realm governed by the priest-king Jetsum Dampa Hutukhtu. In 1868 a joint demarcation commission fixed the north-western Mongol boundary to the satisfaction of all parties, but in 1910, when the Russians had already encroached quite a little upon Mongol lands, an officer, at an unmapped post called Chapuchi Yalodapa, pulled out and burned the boundary posts. A protest to the Russian Minister in Peking elicited the astonishing reply that the Russians were never satisfied with the work of the demarcation commission and that his Government did not see fit to replace the boundary posts. This question has never been settled, chiefly because so many more serious Mongolian questions have intervened, but the Chinese are preparing to bring it to the attention of the new Russian government. In reviewing the case, Mr. C. C. Wu, son of Dr. Wu Ting-fang, has recently restated the Chinese position in the following terms:

"While Uriankhai forms part of Autonomous Outer Mongolia, yet since Outer Mongolia is under China's suzerainty, and its territory is expressly recognized to form part of that of China, China cannot look on with indifference to any possible cession of territory by Outer Mongolia to Russia. Article 3 of the Kiakhta Agreement, 1915, prohibiting Outer Mongolia from concluding treaties with foreign powers respecting political and territorial questions, acknowledges China's right to negotiate and make such treaties. It is the firm intention of the Chinese Government to maintain its territorial integrity, basing its case on historical records, on treaty rights, and finally on the principle of nationality. It is notorious that the Mongols will be extremely unwilling to see Uriankhai incorporated into the Russian Empire. While Russia is spending countless lives and incalculable treasure in fighting for the sacred principle of nationality in Europe, we cannot believe that she will deliberately violate the same principle in Asia."

The last sentence sums up the new Chinese hopes founded upon the recent changes in the Russian Government.

THE CHINESE AS RIFLEMEN

The Battle of Peking,—if the encounter between the Royalist troops of Chang Hsun and the Republicans on July 12 can be dignified by the term "battle"—should teach the commanders of the Chinese army one thing, and that is that the soldiers are deplorably bad shots with the rifle. Though the forces of both sides were supplied with an abundance of ammunition, and though millions of rounds were fired off between 4.30 a.m. and 4.30 p.m. the damage done to the actual combatants was infinitesimal. The bulk of the ammunition was simply "blazed" away for the sake of the noise it would make, each side apparently believing that the other would succumb from nervous prostration if the racket could be sustained for a sufficient time and in increasing volume. It is safe to estimate that 99.90 percent of the whole of the ammunition fired was wasted. Bullets were flying in all parts of the city. In some places occasional solitary whines and thuds were heard, while in others—far removed from the actual scene of combat—the air seemed to be full of screams and cracks as "flights" of metal passed overhead. Almost every house could boast of a spent bullet or two, and some enjoyed the distinction of handsome collections. Telephone and electric wires—which in Peking happen to be carried on poles higher than the one-storey houses—were cut in all sections of the city and in many places hung down in festoons. As the native populace were kept within doors throughout the day the casualties among the peaceful citizens were fewer than otherwise would have been the case, though it is certain that when the returns can be obtained it will be found that the people suffered more than the combined soldiery.

Soldiers invariably fired from the hip, took no aim, and suffered no humiliation when they saw no results from their

efforts. Even when they rested their rifles and used the sights—and missed—they remained unabashed. The writer saw over three hundred rounds fired from an excellent vantage point at a range of some three hundred yards at Chang Hsun's men as they crossed the wide space near the Chien Men gate. Not a man was hit, and worse than that only two bullets struck the roadway, the rest flying high over the house tops into the distance. The contempt held by the piliferous soldiers of Chang Hsun for the marksmanship of the Republican snipers was amusing. Many of them would run across the exposed area but many strolled nonchalantly, some with deliberate and particularly emphasised leisureliness; some would linger ostentatiously gazing at the shooters; some would stand and fire a shot or two in return, and no matter whether they ran or walked, strolled or stood, the Republicans could not hit them. And this sort of thing went on at this spot for several hours. Similar incidents are reported from various other quarters. Soldiers were seen endeavoring to hit their foes on the opposite side of a wall twenty feet high by shooting from where they stood on the ground at an angle of some forty-five degrees. In the street combats near the Chien Men no aim was taken. Rifles were poked round corners and the triggers were pulled. If the cover happened to be a fairly low wall the rifles were rested on the top and fired what time the firers' heads were well under cover.

The old estimate that it takes some eleven thousand bullets, or the other one that one ton of lead is required, to kill one man in battle, was knocked completely flat in the fight in question, and if any reckoning is to be made of ammunition expenditure per hurt man in China new calculations will have to be undertaken. The volume of fire poured into the grounds of the Temple of Heaven where there was a camp of Chang Hsun's men was tremendous and sustained, and yet when the camp was visited in the afternoon all the damage that could be detected was a few riddled tents and a few trees with broken branches. The wounded numbered about 60 and the killed no more than ten. The balance of the 1500 men were as gay in demeanour as if they had been to a picnic, and squatted about their tents as placidly as if nothing had ever come into their lives to disturb them. Yet from 4.20 in the morning until one in the afternoon thousands upon thousands of shots, big and little, rifle, maxim, and field gun, deluged them, the roar of the onslaught being awe-inspiring even to dwellers away in the city. The impression of the foreign population was that they would find the handsome grounds of the world-famous temple converted into a shambles. Had one not known of the firing and therefore been on the lookout for untoward signs nothing would have been noticeably out of order but one or two limbs broken from trees. The result was a happy one for the grounds, and satisfied lovers of the beautiful, but said very little for the efficiency of the Chinese soldier. It is not his fault that he cannot shoot straight with the rifle, however. It is the fault of the system under which he is trained. He is drilled and drilled until he can do the goose step with greater exactitude than the Teutonic inventors of it, yet he is given virtually no range work. Musketry is a neglected phase of the art of soldiery in China, and perhaps the officers feel that since noise is the quickest means of bringing about a compromise with Chinese enemies the chief thing to cultivate is rapidity of fire. Aiming is a matter of indifference, and because it is the populace in all parts of Peking on July 12 had the experience of hearing the uncanny concert provided by bullets in irresponsible flight. Yet the result of the fighting with comparatively infinitesimal casualties was just the same as if the recognised proportion of bullets had found their billets, so the humanitarian will agree that perhaps the Chinese way of conducting warfare is better by far than that of European armies where efforts are made to make each shot tell. In China noise-making instruments are apparently more desirable in the army than death dealing ones. The latter are dangerous without question and while they remain so it is perhaps just as well that musketry efficiency is not insisted upon by the authorities, though we would like to make a suggestion, if this theory is held, that blank cartridges be served out in future so that innocent citizens remaining in their houses may not be subjected to the incessant irritation of bullets flying overhead or coming

to rest on the premises. It would be unfair to neglect to mention in contradistinction to the bad rifle firing that some of the field guns made splendid practice, especially those working on the house occupied by Chang Hsun as headquarters. This house was in the corner of the Imperial city, and was in the midst of many others, yet the gunnery was so accurate that none of the other houses were damaged. The writer picked up the cap of one shrapnel shell in the compound near the storehouse which showed that it had been fired from a distance of some 1800 metres, and indications showed that other shells had fallen with uncanny exactitude. The gunners had the range and direction figured to a nicety, but it must be pointed out that they had ample time before hostilities opened to obtain all the data necessary and fix whatever marks were required to locate the house. That they did their work so well, however, is highly creditable, and it is equally regrettable that the Republican soldiers had not had proper training in rifle shooting. So many of the ragamuffin forces of Chang Hsun would not then have been able to escape.

THE MAN WHO RESTORED THE MANCHUS

(Continued from Page 603)

Before his arrival in Peking Chang Hsun's fanatical loyalty was never marked by either indiscretion or selfishness. His much advertised ignorance is somewhat exaggerated. There are many stories told of his inability to distinguish state documents from laundry tickets, but he has learned in the course of his career to read and write, and can quote the Confucian classics with some point.

When he left Hsuehowfu for Peking, after the downfall of Tuan Chi-jui, he had clearly in mind the re-establishment of the monarchy, and his decision was based upon the opinions expressed by the Military Governors who visited him in his headquarters. He therefore summoned the monarchist leaders to meet him in Tientsin. Arrived there, he changed his mind, decided to support the Republic for a time longer and ordered the monarchists home again. Then in Peking, when Li Chang-hsi proved himself a bending reed, he again changed his mind and sent out the call. When he intended to reinstate the Emperor, no one knows, but it is certain that it came as the result of a spasmodic resolve, and that the indiscretion of it shook the nerves of every colleague he had. The movement was foredoomed and Chang Hsun knew it in two days. Tuan Chi-jui had been torn from the chess board in Tientsin and elevated to the leadership of the Republicans, so there was no hope. But Chang Hsun did not yield or run. He had staked everything upon his long anticipated move, and he determined to lose everything like a man. The failure of the Empire in this instance meant its final failure. His great ambition was inseparable from it and he determined to fall with it. That Chang Hsun did not perish in the flames of his house and thus make an heroic end of a picturesque career, is not his fault, but the result of a whimsical fate which rewarded him with humiliation instead of a soldierly death. He obeyed a summons in the midst of the fight of July 12 to go into the Legation Quarter—to parley as he thought—and found himself interned, a prisoner on neutral soil, robbed of the privilege of perishing picturesquely as he had lived. This is the true story of the flight which in all eyes has robbed Chang Hsun of half the glory of his great but foolish enterprise.

OIL FROM RICE-BRAN

Nuka, or rice-bran, is used by Japanese women, mostly in the country districts, as soap. It is also used as fertiliser. According to the *Mainichi*, certain Japanese scientists have investigated, and patented, a process of manufacturing from rice-bran a refined oil which is usable both for culinary and chemical purposes. Osaka business men have undertaken the establishment of a joint-stock company with a capital of ¥1,000,000. The whole capital will be subscribed by the promoters.

HALF-YEAR'S TRADE OF JAPAN

Japan's foreign trade for the six months just ended shows an unprecedented excess of exports over imports. Exports amounted in value to ¥708,372,000 and imports to ¥448,438,000, the former exceeding the latter by ¥259,934,000. These figures compare as follows with those for the corresponding period of last year:—

	Jan.-June 1917	Jan.-June 1916
Exports	¥708,372,000	¥469,508,000
Imports	448,438,000	381,267,000
Excess of Exchange..	259,934,000	88,232,000

The following affords a comparison with the first-half of 1914 just before the outbreak of the war:—

	Jan.-June 1917	Jan.-June 1914
Exports	¥708,372,000	¥311,631,000
Imports	448,438,000	382,385,000

It will be observed that while in the first six months of 1914 imports exceeded exports by ¥70,754,000, the balance in the corresponding period of this year is enormously in the favour of exports. This is not owing to any decrease in the imports but because of a remarkable development in the export trade, imports as a matter of fact, also showing a considerable increase. This state of things is due entirely to the war, and the extent to which the change has thus been brought about may be clearly realised from the following table showing the balance of trade (in 1000's of yen) for the first six months of each year:—

Jan.-June	
1908 ..	Excess of Imports ¥ 80,587
1909 ..	" " " " " 28,506
1910 ..	" " " " " 29,047
1911 ..	" " " " " 103,460
1912 ..	" " " " " 120,243
1913 ..	" " " " " 120,765
1914 ..	" " " " " 70,754
1915 ..	" " Exports 12,246
1916 ..	" " " " " 88,232
1917 ..	" " " " " 259,934

During the twelve months of 1915 exports exceeded imports by ¥163,000,000, so that the excess for the first six months of this year passes the twelve months' figure by close on ¥100,000,000. Even when compared with the figures for last year when a new record was made, the latest half-year's excess is less than that for the whole of 1916 by not more than ¥100,000,000. It is expected that the excess of exports this year will be three times that of last year.

THE MUNITIONS INDUSTRY IN JAPAN

Owing to the falling-off in the amount of orders for war supplies from Russia the Japanese munitions factories are abandoning this branch of their work. The Japan Arms Manufacturing Company, which has been mostly engaged in the manufacture of fuses for Russia, recently dismissed 800 men, and on the 6th instant all the remaining workmen, numbering 200, are said to have received notice of dismissal. This is reported to be due to the receipt of instructions from Russia to stop the manufacture of fuses in which the company has been engaged.

In consequence of this wholesale dismissal of workmen a number of police and gendarmes are guarding the company's office and factories to prevent trouble. The Directors of the company state that the interior of the factories will be altered in a week or 10 days for the resumption of ordinary work and about 3,500 workmen will be engaged afresh from about the 20th instant. The general scale of wages, however, will be lower than that paid to men employed in the munitions industry.

Taming the Yangtze Dragon

THE Chinese will tell you that the great Yangtze River which leaps from the lid of the world, some 16,400 feet up in the clouds, and covers a distance to the sea of some 3,200 or 3,500 miles, is possessed of a formidable Dragon, in the taming of which the Peking Government will be tackling one of the nicest little transportation problems that it has fallen to the lot of anyone to unravel. They threaten to do it in an attempt to facilitate communication with the great, wealthy, but virtually isolated Province of Szechwan.

Hidden behind a great mountain mass which in present conditions defies the advance into its confines of all but the hardest travellers, the prosperous land of the "Four Rivers" is alluring to all who want to open markets, to eke out wealth from the embrace of mother earth, and to participate in the development of remote areas where potentialities are known to be great.

Up to the present the only route for the traveller is up the great tumbling waterway of the Yangtze—which, as it carves its way through the mountains is a combination of terrorising rapids, awesome whirlpools and treacherous rocks and reefs—or over the crude trails traversing hundreds of miles of rugged mountains.

Despite the titanic force of the ferocious waters the river is now the chief route used, and though the frail human has managed by the exercise of wit sharpened by cruel lessons, by the application of sweating brute muscle, and above all by the employment of superhuman courage and tenacity, to conquer the roaring river with virtual cockle-shells and later with a few specially designed steamers, still the toll in boats and lives is unceasing and stupendous, and not one craft that ventures into the great and fearsome gorges is ever certain that it will emerge safely at the opposite end. The river has developed a river-man whose life is a constant tussle with death and whose heroism is worthy of an epic graved in gold.

Over ten per cent of the boats which hazard the rapids are smashed and wrecked and the cargo that is on them goes to the bottom or is destroyed by the whirling waters on the jagged rocks, and many, many others monthly are so badly damaged that the cargo is soaked, and much of it is spoiled. It is a common sight to see all sorts of merchandise lying on the rocks to dry, piece goods are strung out about the landscape for the sun to make them fit for re-packing, what time the damaged boats are being repaired or replaced.

Even the small steamers which bold men have designed and navigate through the rapids meet with the gravest perils, and it

The Chinese Government
Makes Preliminary Inves-
tigations with a view to
Rendering the Great Gorges
of the Upper Yangtze
Safer for Navigation, so
that the Tremendous Toll
of Lives and Boats may
be Lessened.

is only the sublimest courage which at any time gets them through. Every voyage is a gamble with death, the pitting of brains and confidence in what look like the frailest of aids, such as wire hawsers, against an enormous unharnessable mass of water stirred to a frenzy by the confining power of great walls of rocks and natural weirs. A miscalculation, a broken hawser, a defect in machinery, and the chances are one hundred to one that a moment or two will see a great jagged rock crashing its way through the hull. Only a week before this was written the latest victim was the small steamer "Teh Ching" which swung on to a rock about 100 miles west of Ichang and sank.

And with these trials of the steamer, specially equipped as she is to meet the extraordinary conditions, how does the great junk traffic, solely controlled by human agency compare? What an expenditure of breath and brawn, and what a strain on nerve

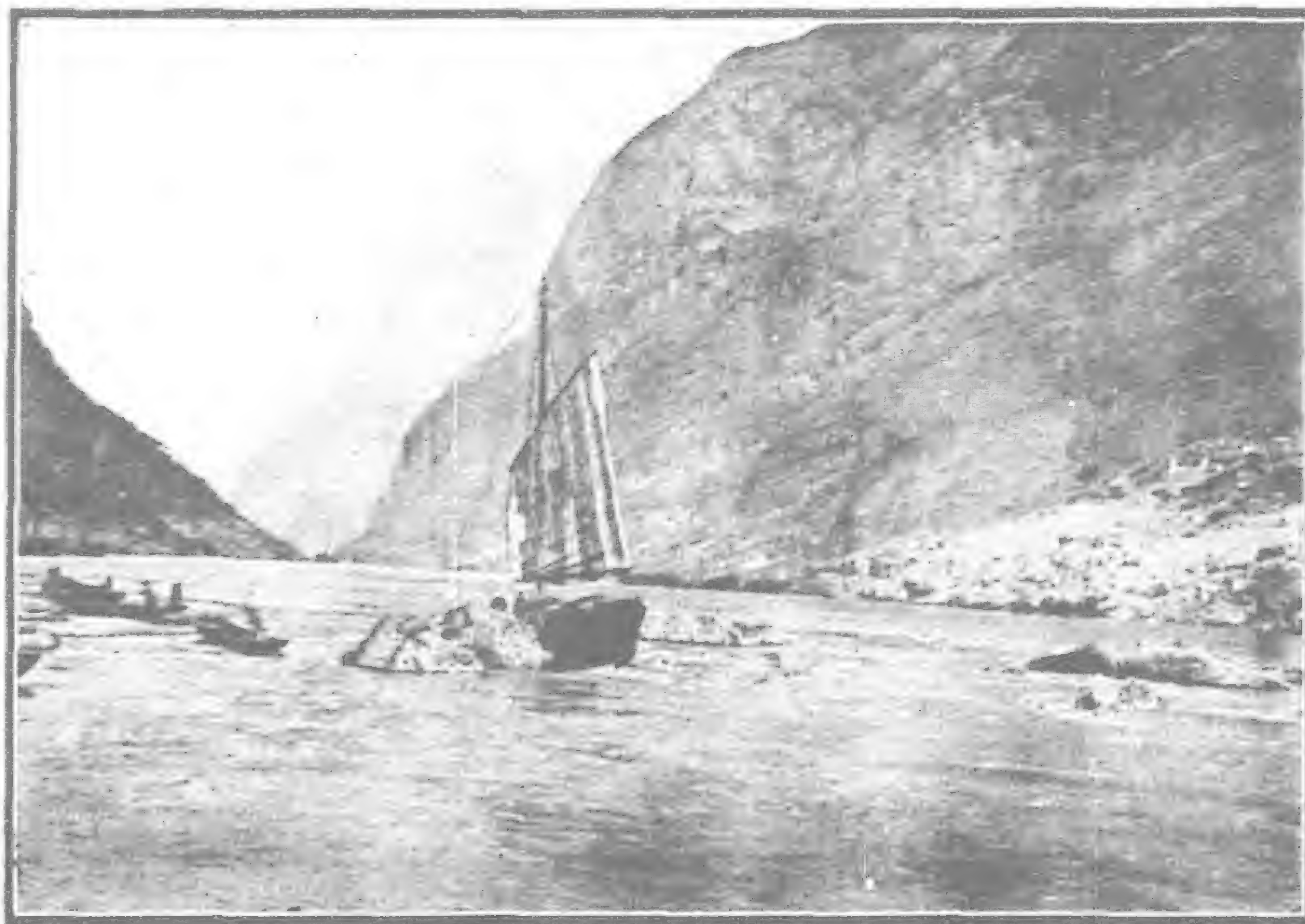
there is to get but one junk over a rapid.

Great hawsers of plaited bamboo from 800 to 1,200 feet in length and manned in cases by as many as 400 tailing, heaving coolies rendered expert by long usage are necessary for the largest junks, and for the very smallest and lightest laden ten, twenty and thirty trackers are required in the smallest rapids. Yet despite all the skill and the care no junk can guarantee safe passage: the slightest slip or misjudgment precipitates the tossing craft to destruction.

To minimise the risk to navigation by the removal of the outstanding obstructions such as sunken rocks, projecting ledges and reefs, masses of boulders and great bars of shingle accumulated at the mouth of almost every tributary is the task the Government is now considering, and in order to have some preliminary ideas upon which to work Admiral Tsai Ting-kan was recently

despatched to make a reconnaissance. His report is now in the hands of the Government and when political conditions permit of serious organized work being done it is to be hoped that steps will be taken to further the task which Admiral Tsai Ting-kan has begun. With him on his visit of inspection was Captain L. C. Plant, the famous pilot of the Upper Yangtze, who knows more of the whims and the wickedness of the great river gorges than any other living white man, who has done more than anyone else to promote steam navigation through their perilous rapids, who loves the tyranny of the gigantic stream and who is probably keener than any other in his desire to see the dangers that beset the

navigator minimised if not totally overcome. Captain Plant has devoted many years of his life to an intimate study of the



A TREACHEROUS SPOT IN THE GORGES, ROCKS IN THE SUMMER ARE ENTIRELY SUBMERGED

section of the mountain-bound stream now under consideration, and in a brochure entitled "A Glimpse Through the Gorges of the Great Yangtze," which is now out of print, he gave some impressions which vividly portray the character of the untamed river—impressions which we now reprint as of general interest, and with due recognition and apologies to the author. Before mentioning what Admiral Tsai thinks of the problem we will republish the interesting description of a trip on a junk through the Gorges given by Captain Plant:



THE CHINTAN RAPID. NOTE THE ROCKS IN MID-STREAM

Through the Gorges on a Junk

At the foot of the Yangtze Gorges, close on a thousand miles from the sea, nestles the little township of Ichang. It is here the traveller to the far west bids farewell to the luxury of the passenger steamer and takes up quarters aboard a more or less cranky craft known as a *quadza*. It is the passenger boat of the Upper Yangtze, and resembles not a little a gipsy caravan afloat, on board of which the voyager and his belongings are dangling at the end of a bamboo tracking line for the space of anything from twenty to forty, and even fifty days according to the state of the river, slowly and painfully making headway against rapids and through gorges, oftentimes at the mercy of the turbid turbulent waters, from which he is separated by inch planking only, and in many instances rotten planking at that. Fortunate is he whose boat, escaping all the perils of this rock-bound river, lands him safely at his destination without loss or damage.

Getting under way from Ichang is a tedious business; the skipper of the houseboat has to recommission his boat, get in provisions for the voyage, engage and ship his crew, pay up debts, etc., etc.—all to be done after the contract to carry the passengers to Chungking has been sealed and signed; and what's more three-fourths of the price paid down. However, one does eventually get away, and if fortune favors with a fresh up-river breeze, he will find his floating caravan bowling along under all plain sail, the fore-deck packed with a motley team of somewhat dirty trackers, whistling and holloaing for more wind.

The Ichang Gorge

The little township with its myriads of boats is soon left astern, and the traveller finds himself entering the first of the grand gorges of the Yangtze, generally known as the Ichang Gorge, a sixteen mile stretch of river that has cleaved its course through a chain of hills whose stupendous cliffs form its rock-bound banks and present to the traveller scenery that will gladden his heart, be he a lover of nature. He is now to all intents and purposes in a new world untrammelled by conventionalism, and alone with the glories of nature.

Another authority says that in this gorge the waters narrow to about 60 yards and flow in whirlpools and rapids, while on both banks arise lofty, precipitous, wall-sided mountains almost shutting out the sunshine. Navigation is extremely difficult on

account of the sudden bends in the channel and the many projecting rocks on both sides. Hsilinghsia is particularly famous on account of the wild grandeur of its scenery and the difficulty of its navigation. Here hundreds (sometimes 400) trackers are often at work hauling a large junk, the men struggling over irregular boulders with bamboo hawsers 1200 feet long and as thick as one's arm, all the time yelling, shouting or chanting, their movements directed by the beating of a drum or a gong—a veritable pandemonium in the midst of extreme danger.

Affairs aboard the houseboat will now have shaken down into shipshape and "Yangtze fashion." The sixteen miles being made, the little village of Nan-tou, which defines the western extremity of the Ichang gorge, will be passed, and the traveller finds himself in that rocky wilderness known as the Yaochaho. Here for a distance of about fourteen miles the hills fall back from the river, which is now flanked on either hand by huge piles of granite and limestone boulders, long, jagged reefs and sandy bays, resembling the rugged shores of a sea coast infinitely more than a river's bank. During the summer months when the river is high the appearance of this Yaochaho is completely changed—the wilderness of rock and sand has become more or less submerged, the limpid waters of the winter have become transformed to a tearing, swirling volume of a coffee and milk color, and a perfect maze of rapids and races exist, rendering navigation painfully slow and dangerous to the frail bark and its freight.

It is in this reach that the first low water rapid is encountered, Tatongtan or Otter Cave Rapid.

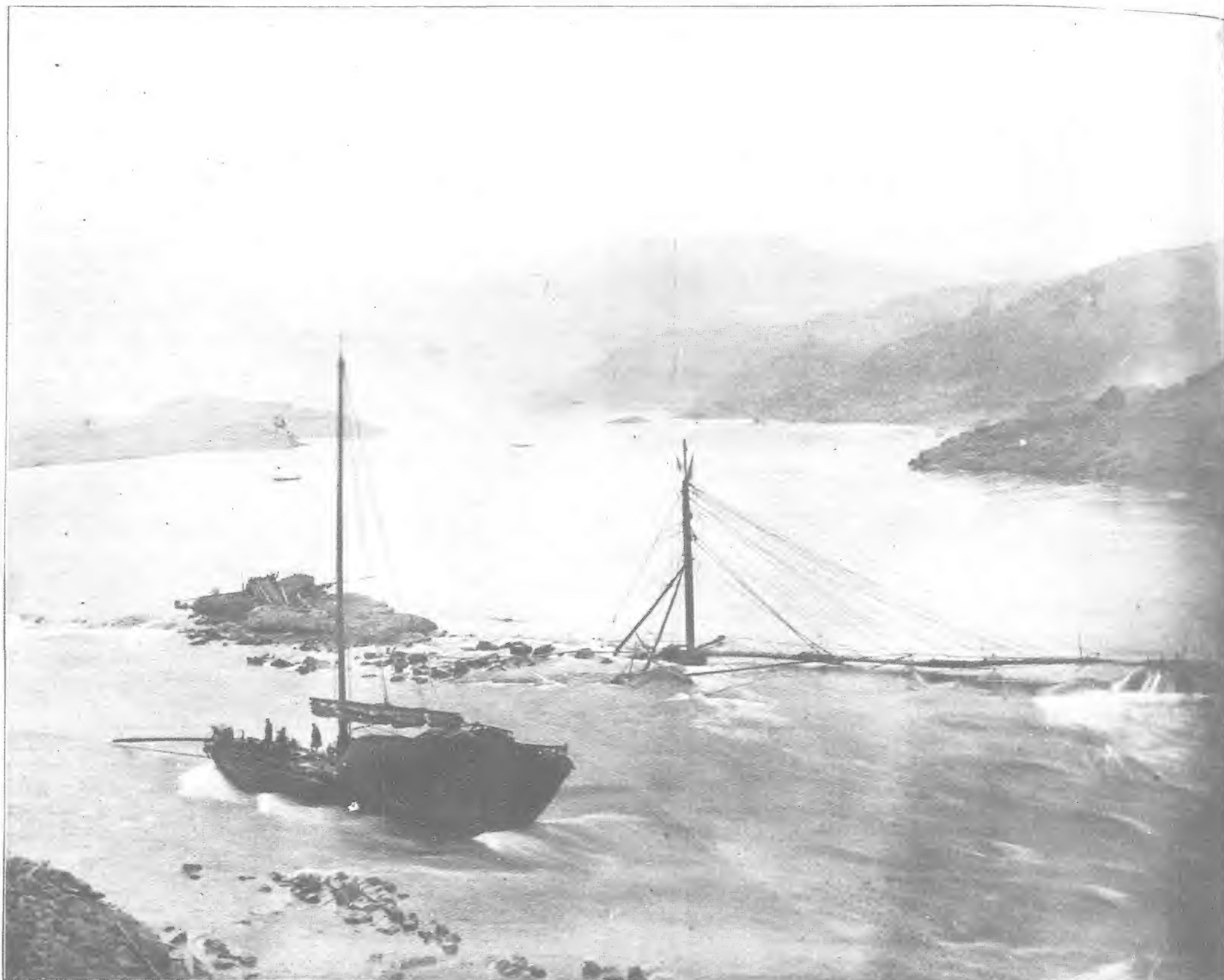
At the foot of the Nui-kan-ma-Fee, or Ox-liver Gorge, in the midst of scenery grand, weird and wild, lies the Tongling rapid. An enormous black rock lies in mid stream; it may be forty feet above the surface or as much below it, but unless the traveller strikes this spot at dead low water it will not appeal to him as a rapid. The great black rock is surrounded by a brood of smaller ones; three of these—"The Pearls"—lie hidden directly in the fairway, and poke their heads above the surface only at lowest water. The passage is an ugly and dangerous one, much dreaded by the junk masters during the low water season, many of whom ship a special local pilot to take them through the narrow channel between the rocks. It was at this spot on December 28, 1900 that the ill-fated German steamer



A CARGO JUNK DESCENDING THE CHINTAN RAPID, UPPER YANGTZE

"Sui-hsiang" was lost. She left Ichang at 9 that morning. All went well until a little after noon, when on entering the tortuous channel of the Tongling Rapid she struck on the outer pearl rock which ripped such a hole in her bottom that she foundered in 25 fathoms of water. Fortunately all on board with the exception of her captain were saved by the local red-boats.

The red-boat, or *Honchuan*, is the life boat of the Upper Yangtze. These smart, solidly built little craft are stationed below every dangerous rapid and point along the river, and during the course of the year they save many a Chinaman from



THE GLORIOUS DRAGON RAPID (OR HSINLINGTAN) SHOWING STAGING LEADING TO ROCK (ON EXTREME RIGHT OF PICTURE) IN THE MIDDLE OF THE STREAM PREPARATORY TO BLASTING

a watery grave. Trim little boats these, with hulls painted red, manned by intrepid, hardy, black-turbaned, red-coated fellows, who skilfully manoeuvre their little craft through rapids and whirlpools to the rescue of the unfortunate.

The First Steamer in the Gorges

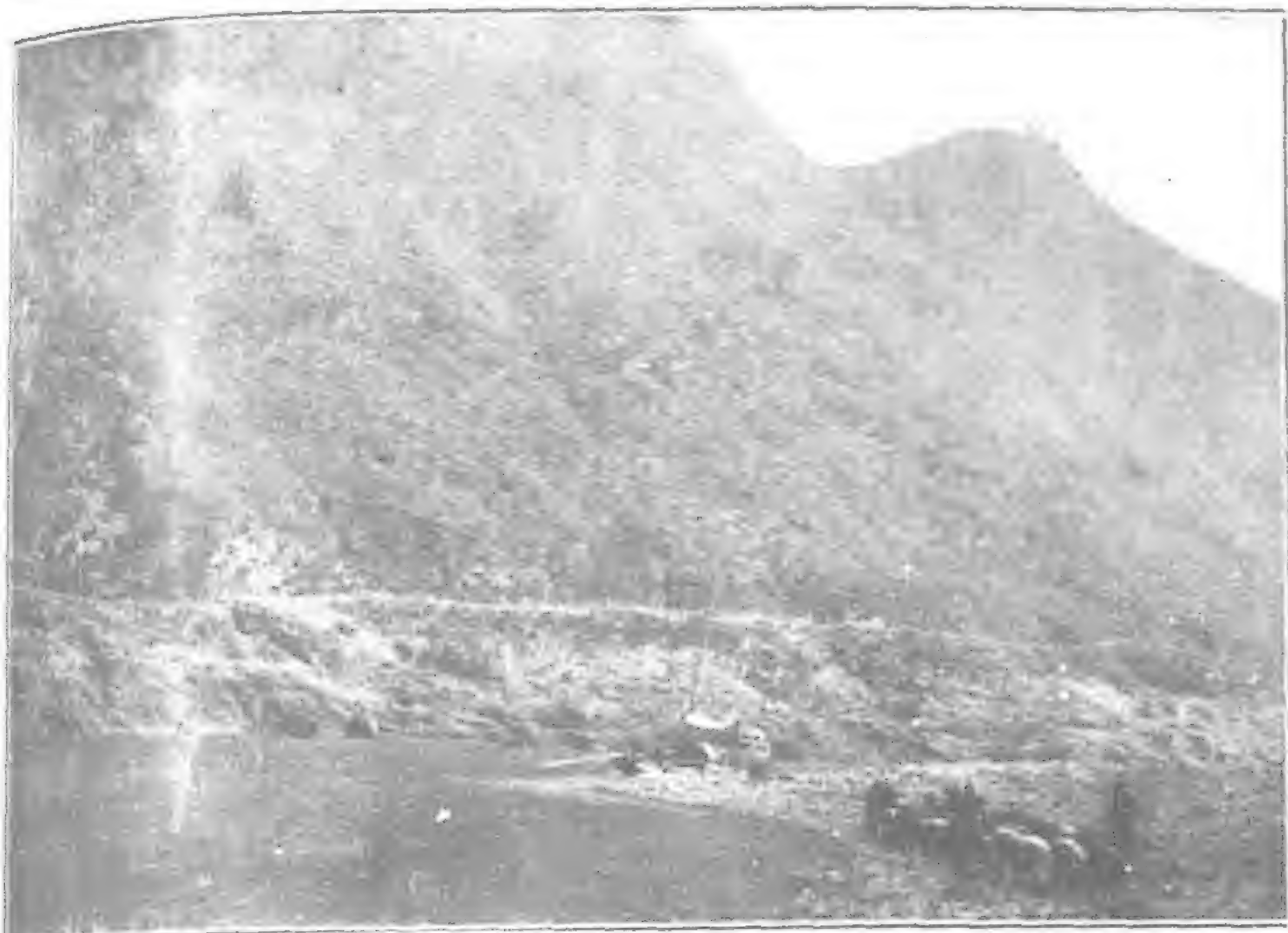
A sporting attempt to navigate this section of the great Yangtze under steam was made by Mr. Archibald Little in 1897, with his steam launch, "Leechuan," a wooden craft of some eight knots speed, with which he succeeded in reaching Chungking after a long and arduous journey, the little vessel being hauled over the rapids by means of plaited bamboo hawsers, after the manner of the junks.

In the spring of 1900 H.M.S. "Woodcock" and "Woodlark" ascended, the voyage to Chungking occupying a whole month, one of the ships being badly damaged en route. Meanwhile a Company had been floated by Mr. Little in London and a ship, the "Pioneer," of some 14 knots speed, was built, which made her maiden voyage to Chungking in June, 1900, accomplishing the journey in eight days and a second in six days. This ship was eventually sold to the Admiralty, fortunately for the Company, for had she attempted the ascent of the rapids during the low water season she would in all probability have shared a similar fate to the unfortunate "Sui-hsiang."

Since then British, German, French and Japanese gunboats have also made successful voyages as far as Chungking. In 1909 a company called the Chuen-kiang-lung-zen Kung-sze, formed under the patronage of the Viceroy of Szechwan, commenced to operate a steam service between Ichang and Chungking with a vessel specially built for the purpose at the Shanghai Dockyard. By July, 1914, there were three steamers engaged in the service, each of them making two trips every month, \$60 being the fare for the up-voyage and \$30 for the down, the up-trip taking one week and the down three days. Before the opening of steamship communication the only means of traversing the gorges was by junk, the voyage taking from twenty to sixty days, though coming down from three to ten days were sufficient.

Finest Spectacle on the River

Emerging from the Ox-liver Gorge, which is only some four miles in length—a distance that may be covered during low water season in less than an hour with a favorable breeze, or which may take a whole day of arduous toiling during high river—the traveller arrives at the foot of the Hsintan, or Chintan, rapids, which during the winter months are quite formidable. Three in number—the Tou, Ehr and San Tans, or the Head, Second and Third Rapids—they are situated in close proximity, the Tou or Head Rapid being by far the worst to



THE YATZUPAO RAPID. NOTE THE NARROWNESS OF THE RIVER. HIGH WATER COVERS THE BOULDERS ON THE RIGHT AND INCREASES THE DANGEROUSNESS OF THE RAPID



SCENE NEAR CHANGSHOU, SHOWING THE ROCKY RIDGES WHICH ARE COVERED AT HIGH WATER AND CONSTITUTE HIGH-WATER RAPIDS

negotiate. Here the thickest and toughest bamboo hawsers are used, their inboard ends being bound firmly round the mast close down at the deck. A hundred men and boys strain on all fours at the shore ends, and slowly inch by inch the boat forges ahead through the gapway in the reef; the hawsers creak and crack ominously under the strain, the seething water dashes by at a rapid rate, the rock looks uncomfortably close on either hand, and altogether it creates an anxious moment for the passenger. A faulty hawser, a slippery hitch, or one false

manoeuvre may mean finishing up on some jagged reef that is invariably in waiting for the unfortunate voyager on the Upper Yangtze. The Hsintan Reach on a bright winter's day, when the adjacent hills are capped with snow, the surrounding cliffs kaleidoscopes of beautiful colouring, the rapids beneath foaming and roaring, the fleet of junks moored in the slacker waters below awaiting their turn to ascend, the red-boats cruising in the vicinity of the reefs on the alert to lend a helping hand, forms perhaps the finest spectacle on the way to Chungking.



ADMIRAL TSAI TING-KAN IN MIDDLE WITH CAPT. PLANT ON THE LEFT, AND MR. LIU SHENG-YUAN, WHO WAS GIVEN A SMALL SUM BY THE WAR MINISTRY TO BLAST AWAY DANGEROUS ROCKS AND CLIFFS



ENTRANCE TO THE OX-MOUTH GORGE, SHOWING LARGE ROCK IN CENTRE OF RIVER AND BANK OF BOULDERS WHICH ASSIST TO CAUSE VIOLENT, AWE-INSPIRING RAPIDS AT HIGH-WATER

Immediately after negotiating the Hsintan Rapids, the voyager enters the Mitsang, or Rice Granary Gorge, a gorge quite equal to the Ox-liver for scenery, and more precipitous: it is only some two miles long. The finest view is obtained from the western extremity, where on a dull day it resembles some awesome passage leading to regions of endless gloom.

A Vicious Rapid

Following on the Mitsang Gorge comes the Kweichow Reach, which derives its name from the quaint little walled town perched on the hill slope of the left bank, a crooked stretch of some eight miles studded with as many reefs as there are teeth in a crocodile's jaws, and terminating with the Yehtan, or wild Rapid, where the river is reduced to less than half its ordinary breadth by an enormous detritus of boulders thrown out by a torrential side stream over the outer end of which the great volume of water, pent up as in a funnel, rushes foaming down, taking the form of a huge cambered tongue with curling edges.

This rapid is at its worst during early summer and autumn when the river is at mid-level. At this season as many as a hundred junks may be counted at the foot of it waiting their turn to be hauled over. Unfortunate, indeed, is he whose boat *tachangs*, or in other words, takes a wild sheer and breaks adrift or is obliged to cut her hawsers at the head of the rapids. Swept down in the twinkling of an eye, far away below, she

pile. At the head of this reach lies the Niukoutan, or Buffalo Mouth Rapid, not so fierce, perhaps, as the Yeh-tan, but much more dangerous to approach because of the great swirls in the bay below. It was here that H.M.S. "Woodlark" came to grief on her maiden trip to Chungking. One of these strong swirls caught the ship's stern, rendering her rudders useless for the moment and causing her to sheer broadside into the rapid. The engines were immediately reversed to full speed astern but the swift current, combined with the momentum of the ship, carried her willy-nilly on to the rock-bound shore on which she crumpled up her bows as though they were made of brown paper. Fortunately she was built in water-tight sections; her engineers removed the forward section, straightened out the crumpled plates, rivetted them together and bolted the section back in its place again. So well done was this piece of work that on arrival at Chungking no trace of the accident was visible.

Leaving Nuikou astern, a bend in the river to the right brings the little township of Tatung in view. Beyond this a succession of swirling bays through which the boat is tracked laboriously, or sails fearfully, are traversed, and the voyager is at Roan-tou-kou, the hamlet at the foot of the

Thirty Miles of Defile

great Urishan Gorge, which marks the fourth stage of his journey if he be fortunate in wind and water, or on the contrary may mark the eighth. The Urishanhsia, or Gloomy Mountain



GORGE AT TOP OF RAPID FULICHI



LANDSLIP WHICH CAUSED NEW RAPID IN THE YANGTZE

is obliged to bring up the last of the long tier of boats in which a moment before she was first.

Some idea may be given of the force of this enormous volume of water by mentioning the exploits of the steamship "Pioneer" which on three consecutive occasions attacked this rapid when at its worst, and, though steaming a good fourteen knots failed to cross. She was obliged to lay out on a long steel wire hawser and heave herself over by means of her windlass, the engines working at full speed at the same time. Hard and heavy was the heave, gaining foot by foot, with a tension on the hawser almost to breaking strain—a veritable battle it seemed with the mighty dragon of the Yangtze. Yet so complete are the changes which are wrought by the great variation in the level of the river that this formidable mid-level rapid completely disappears at high level.

Buffalo Mouth Reach

Having crossed the Yehtan Rapid in safety, coiled in hawsers, made all sung on board and once more under way, a couple of hours' run will bring the traveller into Niukou, or Buffalo Mouth Reach, quiet enough during low water season, but a wild stretch indeed during high river, where many a junk is caught by the violently gyrating swirls, rendered unmanageable and dashed to atoms on some rocky promontory or boulder

Gorge, is at once the grandest and longest gorge en route to Chungking. Extending over thirty miles in length its defiles present various phases to the voyager. Shrouded in gloom, awesome and quiet if the wind be from the west; beautiful and bright with sunshine and wind from the east, a hundred and one shades of color glance from cliff and boulder, terrace and slope; great walls of solid rock, capped by fantastic peaks, tower into the clouds, broken only at intervals by precipitous ravines; and if the traveller has been fortunate enough to enter the gorge after some days of rain, streams of water at every few hundred yards cascade from the rocky heights in a series of foaming falls to the mighty river below; and to add to the enchantment, the resonant cries of a thousand junkmen may be heard as they work at the great yulves (skulls) or shout to the wind Diety to aid them in their struggle against the mighty waters. Violent, indeed, is it in the summer months when the big freshets come down, raising the river to a height of sixty feet and more above its winter level. A tremendous volume meeting all manner of submerged obstructions in its downward rush, dashing on in zigzag fashion from side to side, cannoning off the rocky walls, it breaks into all manner of back lash and swirls until the whole gorge is one gyrating mass of turbulent waters, presenting a long and perilous pass to the frail and already much battered bark that may occupy the best part of a week to get



NATIVES WASHING GOLD ON THE BANK OF THE RIVER AT LOW WATER

through. However, as summer gives place to autumn, and autumn to winter, so the mighty torrent of turbulent ruddy water subsides to a pelucid peaceful stream, broken at intervals by swift races.

The Escapade of the "Olry"

At Peishih, half way through the Gorge, the traveller crosses the boundary of the province of Hupeh and enters cloudy Szechwan. The voyager may feel a sense of relief as he emerges from the confines of the great gorge and passes the little walled town of Urishan into more open scenery. But the battle is not yet over. Though the river is broader, and there is not that feeling of being boxed up within massive walls of rock as there is in the gorge, yet a veritable causeway of rapids and races lies ahead of him for the next fifteen miles, culminating with the Fonghsianghsia, or Windbox Gorge. The wildest rapids on this stretch are Hsiamatan, or Dismount Horse Rapid, which during low water is a small Yehtan, and the Chiao and Piaotretans or Running Swirl Rapids, which are particularly nasty during the mid-river season. It was at the latter place that the French gunboat "Olry" came within an ace of destruction, when on her way to Chungking in 1906—she had just entered the swirling waters of the Chiao Rapid when suddenly her rudder snapped off short at the spindle and dropped fathoms deep to the bottom. Immediately, like a riderless horse, she dashed off headlong for the rocky shore but at the same instant her engines were working astern for all they were worth and fortunately succeeded in taking the way off her just as her nose grazed the rock and she slid back undamaged into the swirly bay, only to be waltzed round and tossed to and fro by the violent whirlpools. However, by good luck and management, she was kept from dashing her brains out on the reefs and eventually brought into a friendly sand patch and safely moored, whilst a wooden jury rudder was rigged, with which she eventually reached her destination.

The Windbox Gorge

Having successfully negotiated this causeway of rapids and races the traveller finds himself at the portals of the Fonghsianghsia or Windbox Gorge, the last and perhaps most interesting gorge en route to Chungking. High up, some 150 feet above the low level of the river, a good pathway, galleried into the solid rock, extends along the face of the precipitous cliff for the whole distance of the gorge: it is said to be the philanthropic work of a rich merchant of the town of Kweichowfu. About the centre of the gorge and forming part of its left bank, stands a precipitous cliff from which the gorge derives its name. On the sheer face of this cliff, hundreds of feet above the water, a large fissure is seen in which lie several long narrow wooden boxes resembling Chinese bellows but supposed to have been coffins: how and for what reason they were placed in such an inaccessible position remains a mystery.

Further on, towards the western extremity of the gorge is Mengliangti, or Mengliang's ladder. Up the face of a sheer cliff a zig-zag of holes about nine feet square are cut into the

cliff at regular intervals, and into these holes wooden beams were inserted and formed an escalade for the Hupeh General's troops when their further progress by water was stopped by a barrage of heavy chain cables stretched across the gorge. The iron posts to which these cables were attached are still standing.

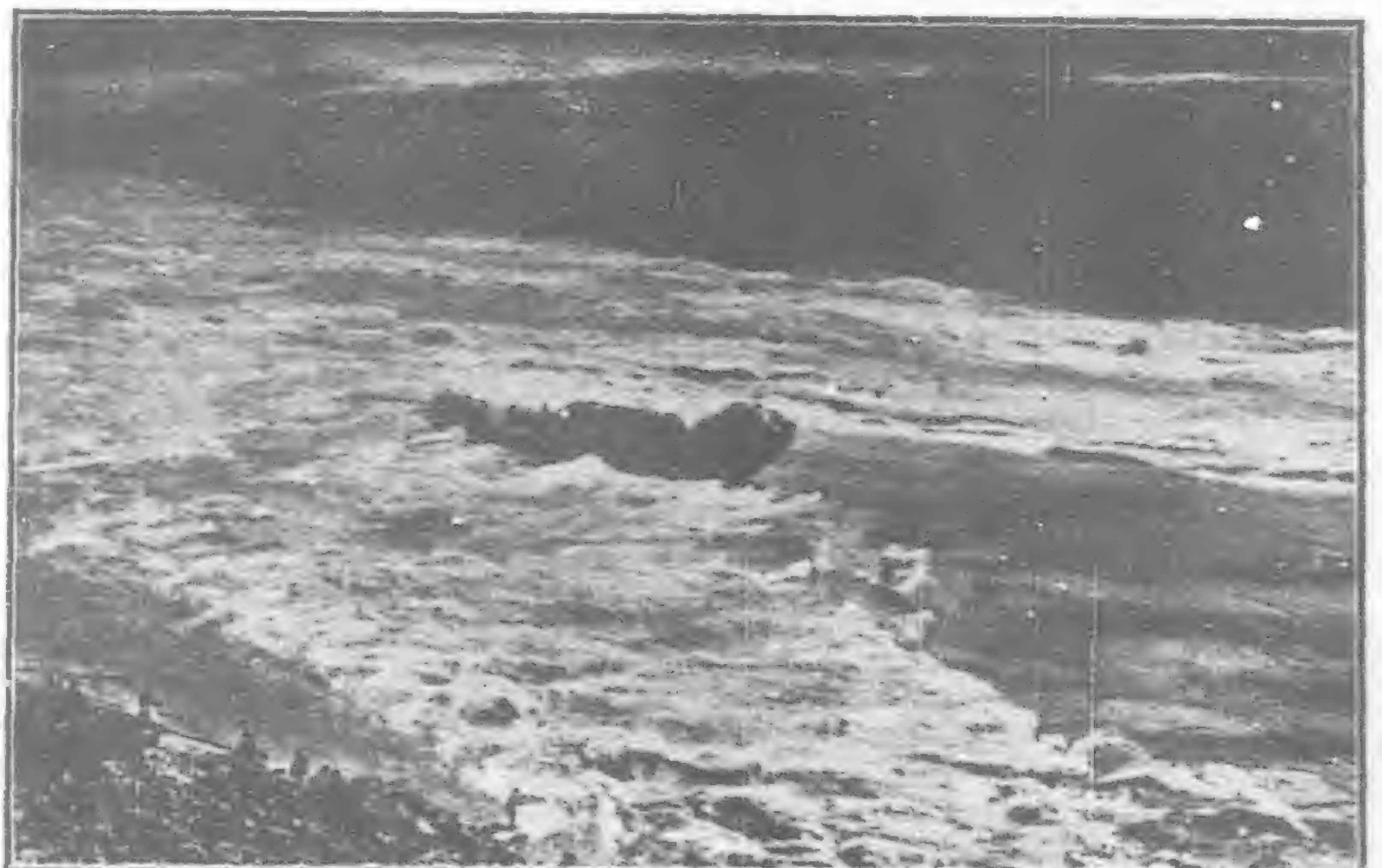
Situated at the western extremity, like a sentinel guarding the gorge, is the Yenweichih, or Goose-tail rock, which stands some forty feet out of the water during low season. The current is so feeble in the winter months that the four miles may be traversed in less than an hour under a smart up-river breeze. It is altogether different, however, in the summer; the volume of water, increased a hundredfold, rushes madly, cannoning from side to side in frantic effort to escape the confines of the gorge. The travellers in junks at this season may be a couple of days getting through this turbulent pass, and even consider themselves fortunate if not obliged to tie up at the foot of the gorge until a strong freshet has subsided, for no craft can even peep into the gorge at these times.

Heishihtan, or Black Rock Rapid, when the reefs are awash or not sufficiently submerged to allow a boat to pass over them, is particularly dangerous to descending junks, and the same applies to the Goose-tail rock.

A Curious Brine Well

On emerging from the Windbox gorge, if it be winter, the traveller's eyes will be arrested by numerous columns of steam rising from an extensive fan-shaped shingle bank that spreads out at the foot of the town of Kweifu. In the centre of this enormous bank of shingles a curious brine well exists, the brine being extracted and condensed on the spot during the low river season. So soon as the waters fall sufficiently to leave the bank dry, a swarm of mat huts and brine boiling furnaces are erected, and in no time the bank becomes as lively as a beehive and as busy as the bee. Just beyond lies the town of Kweifu, 125 miles from Ichang. The voyager may have made this distance in anything from six to eighteen days, according to the state of wind and water, and certainly he may breathe more freely when his craft is moored under the crenelated walls of this historical old town, for though half the distance is not yet covered, at least more than half the dangers are left astern.

Kweifu, often called by the boating population Kweikwan, and Fongchehsien, was once a town of importance and the seat of rulers, but it lost its greatness centuries ago, and has since faded into the commonplace. It is the port of call for all junks bound to the westward and generally a long tier of all sorts and conditions of craft may be seen moored abreast the town while their crews are busy having a good time ashore, spending their hard-earned cash in the careless free and easy manner peculiar to the sailing-ship sailor of bygone days. Kweifu to a seaman's eye is the "Blackwall" of the Upper Yangtze, though it has been styled the Venice, presumably because of the singing girl sampans which ply up and down the tier at night serenading the hardy boatmen.



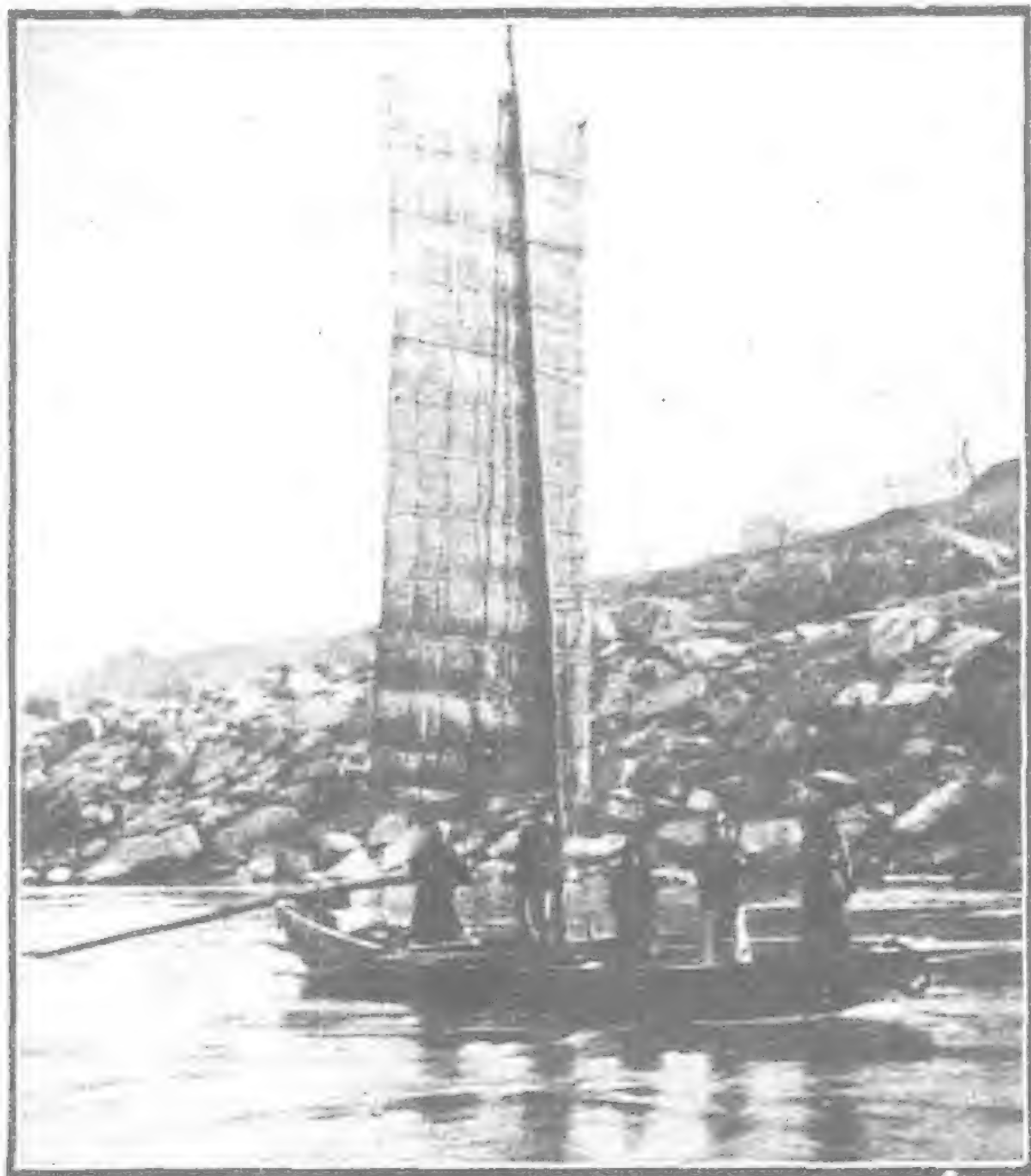
A 50-TON CARGO JUNK DESCENDING THE GLORIOUS DRAGON RAPID, UPPER YANGTZE

One may say *au revoir* to the grand rugged scenery of the gorges, as the scenery beyond Kweifu is of a softer but by no means monotonous nature. The hills recede from the river in undulating slopes which are lightened up by many colored patches of cultivation for a distance of some twenty miles, when another change appears, the undulating slopes giving place to chains of pyramidal hills which, when viewed from the lower end of the long reaches leading to Yungyanghsien, or Clouded Sun town, gives them the appearance of being flanked by a veritable army of natural symmetrical pyramids. But though the scenery has become softer the river remains as obdurate as ever, and in the thirty-eight miles that intervene between Kweifu and Clouded Sun town, four rapids and as many races exist during the winter months. These in their turn disperse as the summer approaches and the level of the river rises, their places being taken by bays of swift, swirling water. However, there remains the advantage of an easier tracking path for the poor trackers who earn their bread by the sweat of their brow in real earnest, and who, notwithstanding the fact their life is harder than that of the average coster donkey, seem happy and content withal.

The Dragon Awakes

Some eight miles beyond the town of the Clouded Sun lies the Hsinlingtan or New Dragon Rapid, sometimes styled Glorious Dragon Rapid, which constitutes the last formidable stepping stone—during low river—en route to Chungking. It was formed by a landslip as recent as 1896, when the whole side of a hill falling into the stream reduced its breadth to less than a fourth of what it was previously, and produced this roaring rapid,

This pent-up volume of water, always endeavoring to break away the rocky bonds which have harnessed it, rushes roaring as a huge tongue-shaped tumbling mass between its confines of rock and reef. Breaking into swift backwash and swirls in the bay below, it lashes back in a white fury at its obstacles. Fortunately for the junk traffic it improves rapidly with the advent of the early spring freshets, and at mid-level entirely disappears. The rapid is at its worst in the months of February and March, when it certainly merits the appellation of "Glorious Dragon Rapid," presenting a fine spectacle, though perhaps a somewhat fearsome one to the traveller who is about to tackle it with his frail barque. A hundred or more wretched looking trackers, mostly women and children, are tailed on to the three stout bamboo hawsers, and amid a mighty din of rushing water, beating drums, cries of pilots, and boatmen the boat is hauled slowly and painfully over. According to Chinese myths, the landslip which produced the rapid was caused by the following circumstance. The ova of a



LIFEBOAT ("RED BOAT") WHICH SAVES MANY LIVES IN RAPIDS



ADMIRAL TSAI TING-KAN

dragon was deposited in the bowels of the earth at this particular spot, which in due course became hatched out in some mysterious manner. The baby dragon grew and grew, but remained in a dormant state until quite full grown, when, as is the habit of a dragon, he became active, and at the first awakening, shook down the hillside by a mighty effort, freed himself from the bowels of the earth, and made his way down river to the sea; hence the landslip, the rapid and its name.

A run of some twenty-five miles from Hsinlongtan brings the traveller to Wanhsien, an important town most picturesquely situated in the bight of a semi-circular bend of the river at the extremity of a valley between a double chain of high and rugged hills. Down the centre of this valley a torrential stream divides the walled town from its extensive suburb. A curious bridge—Wantsochow—thrown over the stream connects the two.

A Change of Scene

The view looking up the valley is enchanting; the outlines of the hills assume fantastic shapes, and from many a prominent summit Buddhist temples may be descried peeping out from forests of pine and cypress. A long tier of junks, closely packed, line the foreshore and many new boats may be seen in course of construction, for Wanhsien is the home port of the Szechuan *peimochuan*, or cypress-built junk. It is also a terminus for the capital, Chengtu, which may be reached overland in ten or twelve days.

Arrived at Wanhsien, the majority of the dangers and difficulties of this long boat journey to Chungking are over, but it does not do to be too sanguine. Wreckage has often happened within a few miles of the destination, generally to be accounted for by the unhappy knack the Chinese boatmen have of taking all precautions where the dangerous rapids exist, but leaving all to chance elsewhere.

Eight miles from Wanhsien the Fuhtan, or Tiger Rapid, is reached, where immense masses of reef and rock project far out into the stream. Fuhtan only merits its name during the summer months when the river is high. Then in all verity it is savage enough, but during the low river season no rapid exists.

Beyond this point the river widens out considerably; the adjacent scenery becomes softer, the slopes of the hills being richly cultivated; and the traveller's progress is accelerated considerably by the easy tracking which the long extensive shingle flats and banks afford, where gold washers may be seen washing the shingles and sand in their basket cradles from daylight to dark for a grain or two of the precious metal.

The Precious Stone Castle

Twenty-four miles from Tiger Rapid there comes in view a remarkable cliff—Shihpaochi, or Precious Stone Castle. Standing out in bold relief near the foreshore, in a right-angled bend of the river, some 250 to 300 feet in height, it presents a striking appearance. A curious eleven-storeyed pavilion built up the face of the cliff contains the stairway to the summit on which stands a Buddhist temple. There is a legend attached to this remarkable rock that savors very much of the goose with the golden eggs. Once upon a time from a small natural aperture near the summit a supply of rice sufficient for the needs of the priests flowed daily into a basin-shaped hole just large enough to hold the day's supply. The priests, however, thinking to get a larger daily supply, chiselled out the basin-shaped hole twice as large as its original size and since that time the supply has ceased.

Leaving the Precious Stone Castle astern, a good day's run with fair wind, skirting immense banks of shingle and low rocky plateaux, threading through mazes of reef and rock if it be low water or tracking along at the foot of the cultivated slopes with here and there a swift race or nasty corner if it be high water, brings the voyager to the little town of Chongchow, which is very prettily situated, surrounded by sloping hills well wooded with tall bamboo and cypress, and backed by a range of mountains some 4,000 to 5,000 feet in height. Chongchow was once a town of importance, but since the official examinations are no longer held there, it has dwindled into obscurity and poverty.

Thirty-five miles further on and the town of Fongtou is reached, a poor place situated on the low foreshore at the foot of the hills. It was almost destroyed by a river flood in 1870. A new site for the town a safe distance from the river was afterwards chosen by the local official who obtained a grant from Peking and built the walls, gates, yamen, etc., but the official reckoned without his host. The people, who suddenly found the new site was haunted, refused to occupy it, building their houses on the self-same spot as before the flood.

The Road to Paradise!

A little below the town stands Tienchoshan, or Mountain of the Emperor of Heaven, a well-wooded steep hill on which stands a collection of dilapidated temples. In one of these temples near the summit the visitor, with a show of ceremony, is shown a hole said by the priests to lead to the centre of the earth, but on dropping a piece of lighted paper down the bottom is reached at perhaps twenty feet. Another remarkable feature of the Tienchoshan is that for a very small sum a pass to paradise, via the Pole star, may be obtained, and for another small amount a document ensuring a safe and happy delivery of the enciente, both bearing the seals of the high priest of the Temple of the Emperor and the local mandarin.

At the foot of a long straight reach two miles beyond the town of Fongtou, lies the Kaonyintan, or Goddess of Mercy Rapid, which, like the Fuhtan, is only an obstacle to navigation during the summer months when the junks are oftentimes obliged to wait below the rapid for several days for a favorable opportunity to cross. It is almost impossible for the unaccustomed when passing this spot so quiet and harmless looking during low river to imagine the wild, nasty appearance it assumes at high river. The unfortunate junk whose hawsers part when she is endeavoring to cross the rapid in its nasty mood has little chance of regaining the bank in safety. She is doomed to have her bottom ripped out by the horn of some great partly submerged reef and perchance half her crew are doomed also. And through it all Kaonyin, the Goddess of Mercy, sits in her niche high up on the adjacent cliff calm and unmoved.

Boats with twisted Sterns

A run of thirty miles from Koanyintan brings the traveller to Foochow, a large town situated like most on this river at the confluence of a tributary. This tributary, the Kongtanho, is an important affluent which drains a large portion of the Kweichow Province. It is navigated for some 150 odd miles by boats of a very curious shape called *naipeko*, or crooked stern, built with a twist so pronounced that the deck at the after end of the boat stands almost perpendicular to the deck at the fore-end. The higher corner of this crooked stern supports an immense stern sweep which is worked from a high crazy looking structure something akin to a flying bridge built up from amidships. The object of this peculiar twisted stern is difficult to discover: the boatbuilders themselves are apparently ignorant of the original idea. However it is a fairly safe conjecture that this particular model is the result of hundreds, perhaps thousands, of years of experience and is the most fitted to cope with the conditions of the river.

Though some seventy miles of river separate Foochow from Chungking, yet the traveller may reckon he is nearing the end of his long voyage, for under favorable conditions of wind and water he should reach his destination in from three to five days, according to the season. And, providing he arrives in safety with effects undamaged by the waters of the Yangtze, he will have every reason to be thankful, for the mysterious and glorious dragon has been kind to him; and by way of thanksgiving a piece of pork to the boat's crew and trackers will not come amiss to these hardy sons of Szechwan.

Situated on a high rocky peninsula, at the confluence of an important affluent known as the Kialiang, but better known as the Siaoho, or Small River, and flanked on the one hand by a range of hills over a thousand feet in height, the city of Chungking presents a bold and striking appearance as one approaches from down river. It is the commercial entrepot of the Province, the distributing centre for adjacent provinces, and boasts of a population of over 400,000. Like Wanh sien, it is also a terminus for Chengtu, the capital of the Province, which may be reached from here in eight days. Hundreds of junks, moored in every bay, as far as the eye can reach, is sufficient evidence of the great river-borne traffic to this busy city in China some 1,500 miles from the sea.

Report on Steamer Possibilities

With regard to the feasibility of general steam navigation of the river as it at present stands Lieut. and Commander H. D. R. Watson, R.N. of H.M.S. "Woodcock," specially reported in 1901 to the effect that the stretch from Ichang to Wanh sien (200 miles) is not suited for navigation by cargo carrying steamers during the low river season from November to May.

The Kungling, Hsin, and Hsinlung Rapids are too dangerous for a steamer to attempt with Chungking water mark below 15 ft. In addition to these, the numerous smaller rapids would entail frequent steaming at full speed and consequent strain on engines; also delays owing to requiring to use hawsers would be met with. Further, some narrow channels at low river above Wanh sien render navigation difficult by a side wheel cargo carrying steamer, which is the best type for ascending the rapids below that place.

From May to November, though the majority of the rapids in this distance are done away with by the rise of river, some bad ones remain and new ones are formed; the narrow gorges become dangerous, the whole distance necessitates hard steaming, and manœuvring power of the highest order is required to counteract the effect of swirls and offsets of current.

Though not favorable for through navigation there are reaches on which, varying in extent with height of river, towage work could be carried out by a system of tugs and lighters, but as any such system would probably be hampered at low river by the frequency of minor rapids and at highest river by the strong freshet in July, to save cost of outlay on a large flotilla, it would be best to begin with steamers above Wanh sien and let

them gradually gain experience of the possibilities of towage below that place at the best periods of the river.

The difficulties in the distance between Wanh sien and Chungking (200 miles) are chiefly low river races, steaming is not so hard, and high manœuvring power not so essential as below Wanh sien.

Stern wheel steamers of twelve knots, length 150 ft. are best suited for this part to carry cargo and passengers and to tow lighters or junks.

The least sounding at lowest river appears to be nine feet at Lotsicheng, about 30 miles below Chungking, on Admiralty Chart 3032.

The summer freshets, as a rule, appear to be strongest in July and temporary suspension of traffic may be found necessary at places for two or three days at a time during that month. After July the freshets appear to lessen in strength, and traffic would probably be uninterrupted.

It is plain from all of the above that the question of making the Yangtze a safe and easy means of communication with Szechwan is well nigh impossible, though considerable might be done by river experts to minimise the dangers existing to-day. The only safe and quick method of breaking down the isolation of the Province is undoubtedly by railway. There are two schemes in this connexion, one by way of Ichang, which is under the control of the Group Banks, and the other is along the Han River valley, which is being looked over by the Siemens-Carey Railway and Canal Company. The latter route appears at the moment to be the most feasible, though surveyor's reports may suggest a modification of the route.

Admiral Tsai Ting-kan's Views

But, as Admiral Tsai Ting-kan says, the question of a railway has been so long in the air, and the river remains the only practicable channel through which cargo can be conveyed to and from Szechwan, that some attention should immediately be paid to improvement. Whether his report will hasten on the work depends entirely upon the state of politics and the condition of the Treasury. That the work ought to be done as a vital necessity is demonstrated by the enormous difficulties and hardships encountered at all seasons of the year in one part or another of the Gorges.

During his trip Admiral Tsai Ting-kan covered about 400 miles, all of which was closely inspected, and as he had Captain Plant with him, it can be taken as certain that he was able to see and understand all the difficulties that exist.

Admiral Tsai Ting-kan said that the section of the river he inspected is divided into four sections. One, from Ichang to Patung, between which the banks resemble the shape of a V; two, from Patung to Kweichow, where there are enormous crags, and the banks are precipitous, in the shape of the letter U; three, from Kweichow to Wanh sien, where the river opens out and the banks are again V shaped; and four, between Wanh sien and Chungking, where the stream becomes wider, the banks open out more and cultivation exists.

The deepest part of the river is at Yunyang, where it is from 40 to 60 fathoms at low water, and the shallowest is at Lotsi, where it is not more than three or four fathoms.

The rapids are to be divided into three classes. There are the high water rapids, or rapids only formed when the river is high; rapids formed during mid-water, and low-water rapids. The high-water rapids are formed by projecting hill sides, jutting cliffs, huge boulders or ledges projecting into the river. These are rock cliffs at some distance when the water is low, but when the water rises from 80 to 100 feet and spreads they make dangerous whirlpools, rapids, and cross-currents.

The low water rapids are the permanent ones. They are formed by ridges of rock running either directly or diagonally across the stream, and are exceedingly dangerous. Great heaps of boulders and shingles deposited by violent torrents debouching into the main stream also cause rapids as the waters rise.

How to deal with them all is the problem, and Admiral Tsai Ting-kan considers the suggestion to blast away the rocky barriers would convert the river into a wild rushing torrent up which nothing could travel since the ledges now practically constitute natural weirs or locks which hold back vast volumes and permit of navigation, bad as it is.

Admiral Tsai Ting-kan has suggested two main methods of improving the river. The projecting ledges, rocks, and jutting mountain sides which cause the high and mid-water rapids can easily be blasted away at low water, and with the stone two paths can be constructed, and barriers can be erected to prevent detritus falling from the mountain sides. Through the great heaps of boulders channels can be driven, and means can be adopted to cause the waters from the torrents to act as scouring agents.

With regard to the low water rapids there is great difficulty and Admiral Tsai has laid it down that they can only be dealt with after thorough investigation by foreign experts. In his opinion promiscuous blasting would be folly for the reason that haphazard enterprise might make conditions worse than they are, and foreign experts should be employed to determine just where channels should be blasted and what depth of rock should be removed.

In his opinion much necessary work can be proceeded with at once with no great drain upon the national Treasury, and the scientific side can be carried out section by section, and slight tolls can be imposed upon the shipping benefitting by the improvements.

In addition to the removal of rocks and obstructions there should also be some change in the design of junks. They should be strengthened and the bottom planks should be thicker. At present they are but 1½ inches or less. Every junk should also be provided with a capstan, while a capstan should be placed at the head of every dangerous rapid to take the tremendous strain of the direct pull from the arms and backs of the coolies. At each of the ten important rapids there should be an official to organize the trackers and unify their work. A system of signals to warn upcoming craft against the swift descending ones should be arranged on account of the sharp bends which abound. Descending steamers should steam slower to avert swamping junks, and perhaps a modification of steamer design, with the provision of double rudders and cut away stern and spoon bow might also make steaming easier and safer.

That the design of the craft is a secondary consideration, is admitted by Admiral Tsai, who emphasises that the first problem to tackle is the removal of dangerous obstructions. Several outstanding individual rocks are now being blasted away, and he hopes that as soon as the Government is organized it will undertake the greater task of dealing with the larger and more important obstacles. This is a hope in which will join all those who spend their days toiling up and down the great stream, and all those who have to risk their lives every time they step aboard a boat to traverse the gorges.

After the above was written we learned that Admiral Tsai Ting-kan's reports had one prompt effect and that was to secure the drafting of navigation regulations for junks and steamers on the river to prevent collisions. These regulations have been drafted by Captain Plant, who holds the position of River Inspector, and Captain Tyler, the Coast Inspector of the Chinese Maritime Customs, and have been forwarded by the Inspector-General of Customs to the various Legations for approval.

UNITED STATES AND CHINA

Japanese Review of Recent Diplomatic Endeavours

Dr. Yoshino, a Professor of the Tokyo Imperial University, and an authority on Chinese affairs, contributes a long article on "America's Chinese Activities" to the *Yokohama Boyeki*, in the course of which he says:—

"The first positive step America took for the purpose of establishing her rights in China was in November, 1909, when Mr. Knox, the Secretary of State, put forth a proposal for the neutralization of the Manchurian railways, suggesting as an alternative an American railway concession. This proposal was, however, opposed by Japan and Russia in January of the following year, and fell through. Though the railway proposal thus fell through, American activity in China became more marked, and American capitalists became very active in the Southern districts, in which Japan has no close interests. America's ambitions included the suppression of Great Britain, Russia and France, but her most energetic efforts were directed towards the checking of the expansion of Japan's influence in China. This was, of course, partly due to the desires of the Chinese statesmen, but the chief object was to break down all predominant influence and to establish the principle of the Open Door and equal opportunity, the upholding of which principle has always been essential to American development in China.

"America's first attempt, in collusion with the local anti-Japanese elements, to check Japan's influence in China, was started at Mukden about 1908. Japan's influence in Manchuria gradually increased after the Russo-Japanese War, and, as a result, Yuan Shih-kai, who had been friendly to Japan up to that time, began to turn the cold shoulder to this country. In 1908, he introduced sweeping reforms in the Manchurian administration, with a view to offering a stronger front to Japan. He made the Three Eastern Provinces a Viceroyalty, which post he assigned to Mr. Hsu Shih-chang, his confident. Under Mr. Hsu Shih-chang served Mr. Tang Shao-yi, General Chu Chia-pao, and General Tuan Chih-kuei, who were appointed Governors of Mukden, Kirin and Amur provinces respectively. Special importance was attached to Mukden, which was made the centre of Manchurian diplomacy, and Mr. Tang Shao-yi was nominated to direct diplomatic transactions with Japan. At that time, the American Consulate at Mukden was presided over by Mr. Straight, a young and able American diplomat. This shrewd diplomat, in secret co-operation with Mr. Tang Shao-yi, rendered material help in the flotation of various railway loans, and paved the way for the vigorous activity of the American capitalists. These circumstances served to make Mr. Tang Shao-yi, who was educated in America, and had already acquired pro-American sympathies, still more friendly to America.

Sino-American Alliance and Mr. Tang Shao-yi's Mission

"In the previous year, that is in 1907, America placed China under obligations by proposing the re-payment to China of the Boxer indemnity. These favours which America bestowed upon China suggested to some Chinese statesmen the idea of calling in American aid for holding Japanese aggression in check. The idea gradually developed into one of forming an alliance with America, which was hotly discussed towards the close of 1908. The Sino-American Alliance question came to the front in the autumn of 1908, when the Chinese Government dispatched Mr. Tang Shao-yi to America ostensibly for the purpose of tendering thanks to the Washington authorities for their repayment of the Boxer

indemnity. The Chinese Envoy made a short stay in Tokyo before proceeding to America, and it was on November 8th that he left here for America. Immediately on landing at San Francisco on November 23rd, he left for Washington.

"According to a rumour busily circulated at the time, Mr. Tang's real mission was to conclude an Alliance with America, offering to that country a naval base on the coast of Fukien province. The question of concluding a Sino-American Alliance was busily canvassed by those Americans who reviewed Japan's predominance in Manchuria with jealous eyes. In the summer of that year, an editorial appeared in the *New York Herald* advocating the conclusion of such an Alliance on the ground that America and China suffered equal damage by Japan's aggression. A subsequent issue of the American journal contained an article speaking of Dr. Wu Ting fang, then Chinese Minister to America, expressing much gratification at the above-mentioned editorial. Mr. Tang, the Chinese Envoy, visited President Taft at the White House on December 3rd, and was very actively engaged in compassing his mission, when suddenly a New York telegram on December 21st reported that the attempt to induce the American Government to make a diplomatic declaration analogous to a Sino-American Alliance had failed. With the downfall of Yuan Shih-kai in January, 1909, the idea of the Sino-American Alliance died a natural death. Naturally it had never made a very strong appeal to the intelligent statesmen of America, yet it cannot be denied that a section of the American public promoted it with all their energy.

Fukien Province Scare

"Soon after the alliance met with a set-back, a new and troublesome problem called the Santuao question arose. This question is traceable to the dispatch of a Chinese mission, including Admiral Sah Chen-ping, to America in 1910, to make certain investigations into naval affairs. During their stay in America a contract was signed between the Chinese Government and the Bethlehem American Steel Trust for a loan of \$20,000,000 for the purpose of the re-construction of a naval port and of the building of warships, and it was confidently rumoured that the naval port the contracting parties had in mind was Santuao, in the northern part of Fukien province, only ninety miles from the port of Tamsui in Formosa. The important bearing which this had on the defence of Formosa needs no emphasis, and, in fact, as early as 1898 Mr. Yano, the Japanese Minister to China, entered into agreement with the Peking authorities providing that this province should never be ceded to any foreign country. If such an important naval port should be brought under the influence of any foreign country, the defensive measures for southern Japan would lose half their efficiency, and it is quite obvious that Japan could ill afford to sit with folded hands in the circumstances. Fortunately for Japan, the First Revolution broke out in China before this scheme had assumed any concrete form, and it was consequently shelved. The American capitalists participating in the agreement were, however, evidently determined to press the Chinese Government for the fulfilment of the contract, despite the fact that the Manchu Government, with which they had concluded the contract, had been replaced by the present Republican regime, for in February, 1914, they dispatched Mr. Johnson to Peking as their representative for the express purpose of re-opening negotiations on the question. It was even reported that as the result of these negotiations a new contract was signed in the middle of March

of the same year. The sensation this report created in Japan may well be imagined. The Japanese Government evidently felt great anxiety over the question, especially because Admiral Sah Chen-ping and Admiral Liu Kuang-hsung, who were responsible for the Chinese naval administration at the time, are noted for their pro-American sympathies. When, therefore, the *North-China Daily News* disclosed what were said to be contents of the contract, Japan preferred formal interpellation to both the Chinese and the American Government. The Chinese Government flatly denied the rumour as a pure fabrication, but the United States Government returned a very equivocal answer. It did not absolutely deny the fact that there existed a certain contract between the Bethlehem Company, and the Chinese Government. Even though such contract was really signed between the parties, however, it was intimated, it would never be carried on in the face of Japan's opposition.

Fukien in the "Demands"

"The fact, however, must not be lost sight of that the American capitalists were so intent upon the development of the Chinese connection that they were even ready to run considerable risks. In these circumstances, the Japanese Government formulated two demands in the Sino-Japanese negotiations last year, that China should never allow any foreign country to construct military works on the coast of Fukien province, and that even if China undertook such schemes herself she should not borrow foreign money for the purpose. While the struggle was going on Mr. Wilson was elected President of the United States, and, owing to the great fluctuations in economic circles that set in after his assumption of the Presidency, America's development in China received a temporary setback. With a return of financial prosperity, however, the Americans have begun to look again towards China as a sphere for future economic development. This is only natural, and neither the strongest opposition of the President nor the utmost indifference of the Washington Government would suffice to stem the current. The necessity with which economic circles in America are now confronted is not limited to looking to China as a sphere of her future industrial development, but she is also seeking a field for the investment of her enormous capital, and desires to develop Chinese sources of wealth and thereby improve the purchasing power of the Chinese people. When these points are taken into due consideration it will be seen that it is inevitable that the Americans should feel a pressing need for cementing closer economic relations with China.

The American-Japanese Co-operation Theme

"Here the question arises whether America is well advised to adhere to her China policy, which brings her into ultimate conflict with Japan, or whether it will be better for her to co-operate with this country in securing their mutual development in China. America has hitherto acted on the principle of crushing Japan's influence under the weight of her inexhaustible funds. When Baron Shibusawa visited America, some time ago, he drew particular attention to the superior political position Japan occupies in China, and urged Americans to co-operate with Japan in China, but his advice fell upon deaf ears, very few Americans paying any attention to his words. The recent visit of Judge Gary to these shores is, however, said to have had more considerable effect in changing the attitude of American capitalists towards Japan. In other words,

they are reported to have realised that the superior political position which Japan enjoys in China is too firm to yield to American pressure, and that it is most advisable for America to secure her economic development in China on the basis of Japan's influence. It remains to be seen how this proposed co-operation can be effected, and how the political and economic interests of the two countries may be reconciled, but it is not difficult to predict that the American-Japanese co-operation in some form or other can be effected. If this proposed co-operation be successfully carried out, not only will much benefit accrue to China, but it may go a long way towards settling the knotty problems outstanding between Japan and the United States. The only question is: how many Japanese statesmen and financiers are willing to subscribe to Mr. Gary's suggestions in a sincere manner and whether the Japanese have any good plans for utilising the enormous amount of American capital available for the promotion of the interests of both countries."

What a British Newspaper in Japan Thinks

In the course of an article on Japan's attitude towards China the *Japan Chronicle* has the following to say on the subject of co-operation between America and Japan in the exploitation of China.

"This question of co-operation comes up again in the matter of investment in China, when we consider American possibilities there. While General Feng (the Vice-President of China) talks about Sino-Japanese co-operation on an equal footing, the Japanese themselves talk of American-Japanese co-operation on an unequal footing. To Mr. Elbert Gary was accorded the honour of beginning the new crusade. Other voices took it up, notably that of Mr. Sato, the Japanese Ambassador at Washington. Now we have Dr. T. Iyenaga, Director of the Japanese Press Bureau in New York, amplifying the theme. The way in which one announcement has followed another on this co-operation theme is very interesting. It is the visible and deliberate development of an idea. Exactly how much of the idea Mr. Gary was allowed to understand we cannot pretend to guess. He was evidently repeating his lesson, and doing it with gladness as a man naturally would after a very successful business deal. Dr. Iyenaga's exposition of the plan is a distinct step forward. He explains how Japan has a Monroe doctrine in China—only more so. First he points out how greatly it has been to the commercial benefit of the United States for Japan to take over charge in Korea, Manchuria, and Formosa. The trade of these places with the United States, it is true, has in some lines almost disappeared, but on the whole it has increased. He does not explain what these lines are, but the facts are as stated. Presumably the increase is accounted for by purchases made in the development of these territories, and is, so far, undeniably to the advantage of American trade. But though Japan in every official statement takes care to reassert the principle of equal opportunity in China, Dr. Iyenaga claims a monopoly of Japanese enterprise throughout the whole country—putting forward the claim in guarded terms, with the evident object of seeing how it is taken—the previous steps in the new doctrine having been so quietly received.

"To be perfectly frank," he says, "I beg your permission to say that what Japan fears is that, with the introduction of American capital into China, there may follow a corresponding increase of American political influence therein, for such has hitherto been the rule in China with the introduction of foreign capital." Therefore, though Japan very broadly recognises that China's prosperity means her own, and that American capital would be useful in the development of the country, Dr. Iyenaga proceeds, she will only welcome American capital in China in such circumstances as shall not threaten her exclusive political interests. She will, of course, be the sole judge in such matters. Further details he does not give—and indeed this was

a full dose to go on with. The semi-official proposal will be allowed to sink in before more is said on the subject, but the proposal is now, as it were, before the interested Powers, that in future no foreign capital will be welcome in China except such as is introduced in co-operation with Japan, on the lines that Mr. Gary suggested. The matter is discussed as though Europe would not, after the war, have any capital to invest. Perhaps it will not, but we can hardly imagine such a condition. The United States will certainly be the most flush of cash of any foreign country, and if the United States recognises Japan's right to exclude capital from China unless she has the handling of it, Japan will have gone a long way towards the economic annexation of China. But it will not be the maintenance of the Open Door and equal opportunity for all nations, charm Dr. Iyenaga never so wisely. We shall await with considerable interest the next development of the 'co-operative' plan which is gradually unfolding itself.

"The attitude of Japan towards China is generally described by Japanese statesmen as constituting an Asiatic Monroe Doctrine. The Monroe Doctrine, however, never suggested that America would object to the investment of foreign money in Mexico or in Brazil or the Argentine except through an American medium. The Latin States have in the past regarded the Doctrine with suspicion. Any such pretensions as those suggested would have aroused the most implacable opposition and a complaint of invaded sovereignty. So far, it must be confessed, the omens favour Japan in the prosecution of her continental plans. She objected to a loan offered to China for the very munificent public works to which Dr. Iyenaga expressly refers as being suitable for American capital, and this notwithstanding the fact that the loan had no political backing at Washington. She

objected again to a loan for the rehabilitation of the principal Chinese banks. Not only did the Powers acquiesce in these objections, but they even followed suit.

"It was doubtless a part of General Feng's diplomatic attitude that he did not mention any other sort of co-operation for the development of China except Sino-Japanese. It is hardly to be supposed, however, that, with the Chinese in the state of nervous suspicion of Japan that he described, they would wish to confine themselves to Japanese assistance in looking abroad for help. Indeed, the Chinese have recently declared in a very emphatic way that they did not want a Japanese loan but would rather have an American. Moreover, there have been instances where Chinese have offered to put up money themselves to avoid incurring an obligation to Japan but have been circumvented in the attempt.

"It will be seen that the situation is rather complicated and has many interesting possibilities. How far General Feng's remarks may be taken as an acquiescence in a Japanese monopoly of control of foreign capital in China we can only guess.

"Dr. Iyenaga describes the possession of capital as a trump card. It is a better card still to have the handling of it, and if Japan has a monopoly of this handling it will be a trump against which China will not be able to play anything effective in her rather pathetic endeavour to co-operate in her own exploitation 'on equal terms.' Dr. Iyenaga assures America that their suspicions of Japan are quite unfounded, but he says that Japan means to stand by her suspicions of America. If Sino-Japanese relations with the outer world are to be carried on on principles of such very one-sided reciprocity as this, the outlook for China's independence and the Open Door is rather dubious."

SHANGHAI'S MUNICIPAL BUDGET

The estimated ordinary income for 1917 is Tls. 3,462,350, which is about Tls. 150,000 more than that of last year. Ordinary expenditure, notwithstanding the cutting down of all expenses which are not vitally necessary, is estimated at Tls. 3,236,435, or three lakhs more than that of 1916. For over one-third of this increase, however, the revised scale of pay for the foreign branch of the police (agreed to last year), the establishment of a Japanese branch and an increase in the strength of the Chinese force, is responsible.

In order to secure additional revenue, and to keep pace with the growing value of property, the whole of the Settlement has been re-valued for the purpose of taxation. The aggregate net value has been increased from Tls. 133,725,000 to Tls. 150,000,000, a difference of about 12 per cent. The general municipal rates are estimated to produce Tls. 1,580,000.

As a further means to the same end, the Council deem it necessary to recommend the reduction of the rebate on the land tax (which has stood at 15 per cent since 1912) to 7½ per cent. For 1916, this tax of 6/10ths of one per cent, less 15 per cent, produced Tls. 682,177, but allowing for the reduction in rebate referred to, the land tax this year is estimated to produce Tls. 832,500.

So far as Municipal revenue derived from the opium shops is concerned, the community, as a whole, will view with equanimity the loss of income, amounting to Tls. 180,660, which will result from the closure of the last of the shops where the drug is purveyed.

It is in comparing the extraordinary expenditure for 1916 with that proposed for 1917 that a very large economy is noticeable, and had it not been for the large deficit brought forward from last year, the issue of nearly half a million taels in debentures could have been avoided. In 1916, the total extraordinary expenditure was Tls. 1,163,018, whilst for 1917 it is estimated at Tls. 862,740, a difference of 300,000 taels. The principal item under this heading is that of Tls. 459,120 for buildings; of this, the third year's expenditure on the handsome new central offices accounts for nearly half. Land purchase is responsible for another 1½ lakhs of taels, one-third of which is for further payments in connection with Jessfield Park, and another third a site for the erection of a girls' school in the western district—two items about which no-one will have any reason to cavil. Roads—always a big item—account for Tls. 170,000 (this includes expenditure for the acquisition of land for roads). Much as our magnificent thoroughfare, the Bund, would be improved by the permanent paving thereof with asphaltic concrete, the Council are wise in deciding that the present is not the time to carry out such work, which would cost no less a sum than Tls. 60,000.

Having dealt with some of the main items of ordinary income and expenditure and extraordinary expenditure, it will be well to glance at the Budget as a whole. The surplus on the ordinary budget is estimated at Tls. 225,915 (Tls. 407,578 in 1916), to which miscellaneous income of Tls. 20,000 is to be added, a total of Tls. 245,915. The deficit brought forward from last year is Tls. 472,684, to which must be added the proposed extraordinary expenditure of Tls. 862,740, a total of Tls. 1,335,424. There is thus a shortage of Tls. 1,089,509. It is proposed to finance this by raising a sum of one million taels in debentures during the year, carrying forward to 1918 as a deficit the comparatively small balance of Tls. 89,509. The proportionate amount set aside for loan redemption during this year is Tls. 203,700.

ENGINEERING, FINANCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL NEWS

RAILWAYS

Petrograd to New York by Railway.—

According to Canadian press dispatches through railway route from the United States to Petrograd by way of Canada has been outlined in a lengthy report to the Winnipeg Grain Exchange. The scheme has been considered for some time and negotiations with the railways and governments which will be involved in the project will be opened in the near future. Increased transportation to the westward without running the risk of submarines sinking ships, and assistance in the war for Russia with munitions and food will result if the proposed connection is established.

The plan provides for a standard railway line, connecting United States roads through British Columbia and Alaska with Behring Strait and a line from the Siberian coast to the Trans-Siberian railway. Large ferries would carry freight and passenger cars across the 65-mile wide strait. Negotiations have been opened with the Russian Government to improve the Trans-Siberian railway into a modern road instead of a primitive stretch of track overburdened by war transportations.

The United States commission to Russia it was expected, would take up various phases of the proposed line with the new Russian Government. Men back of the undertaking believe that within a few years an international railway will connect New York with Petrograd. They are taking into consideration the possibility of the war lasting several years. The promoters of the project are satisfied that future benefits would justify the vast financial outlay that will be necessary. They declare that a few years of world's peace would make the most important railway route on earth.

S. M. R. Traffic Returns.—The South Manchuria Railways traffic returns for the month of June yielded a daily average of ¥89,090.66 being an increase by ¥39,732.20 over the corresponding month of last year, the particulars being as under:—

Passenger Receipts	¥ 509,149.48
Goods " " " "	1,990,738.32
Warehouse " " " "	43,784.73
Miscellaneous " " " "	121,047.07
Total	2,672,719.60

Increase on the corresponding month of last year... .. ¥1,191,965.94

The total increase since the beginning of the present fiscal year (April 1st) up to June 30th reached ¥4,072,001.01, which means a monthly average increment of ¥1,357,333.

Baron Nakamura's report for the last fiscal year was recently set forth as follows: In respect to railways, the company not only doubled sections on the main line but reconstructed stations, bridges, locomotive sheds, etc. Locomotives and cars were also either built or repaired and at the close of the term the company owned 270 locomotives, 219 passenger cars and 3,194 freight cars of the newest types. On all lines 4,410,816 passengers were carried and the company earned 6,040,453 yen. The amount of freight handled was 6,229,757 tons which brought 19,882,475 yen.

The company's shipping business underwent no tangible change except the sale of the six steamers to the Dairen Steamship Company, established for the purpose of undertaking a regular service between Dairen and Shanghai via Tsingtao under a special arrangement with

the company. At Dairen harbor accommodations were improved by dredging or reclaiming shallow parts on the port, at the same time pushing on the construction of wharves. At Newchwang also the dredging of the river Liang and the improvement of warehouses were continued. The quays at Antung were reconstructed to facilitate loading. At Dairen the trade with the outside amounted to 2,733,896 tons, the leading articles exported being soya beans and coal. The total receipts come up to 2,522,120 yen.

The company's mining business prospered and in spite of the decrease of 109,048 tons in the yield of coal the sale was 293,215 tons greater. The decrease in production was due to the explosion at Fushun. The company's coal was in good demand not only in Japan and Manchuria but in some South Pacific countries. A noted departure in this line was the inauguration of preparations for the erection of a big iron smelting works at Anshanchien. The new works is planned to have a producing capacity of 1,000,000 tons a year. It will be completed in four years. In the first year the mill will yield 156,000 tons of pig iron.

A statement of account was submitted, showing the year's net profit amounted to 10,107,607 yen, exclusive of the balance brought over of 2,857,473 yen. Of this amount 505,380 yen is set aside for legal reserve, 2,000,000 yen as government dividends, 2,500,000 yen as special reserve, 300,000 yen as bonuses for officers and 2,400,000 yen dividends for private shareholders at the rate of 8 per cent per annum, the rest 4,759,700 yen being reserved as balance carried forward. The report and the account were approved by the meeting along with the plan of increasing the company's capital by 20,000,000 yen, divided into 200,000 shares.

Wuchang-Yochow Section Open.—As the construction of the large iron railway bridge over the Lu Kiang at Puchi has been completed passenger traffic with Yochow on the Wuchang-Changsha section of the Hankow-Canton Line was commenced on the 6th July. Because of the present political crisis, and in order to avoid possible trouble, the Managing Director of the Railway has given orders to the railway guards to be very careful all along the line and more particularly when the train runs through the borders between the Hupeh and Hunan provinces.

Shihpingkai-Chengchiatun Railway.—The trial runs conducted over the 5 mile section of the Shihpingkai-Chengchiatun Railway between the Railway and Chinese Towns of Shihpingkai, having given satisfactory results the operation of construction trains was begun on July 25th. The S. M. R. Co. has loaned the Shihpingkai-Chengchiatun Railway one locomotive, ten gondola cars, and five flat cars, with a gang of about ten drivers, attached to the Shihpingkai Station staff.

More Cars for Manchurian Line.—The present rolling stock of the South Manchuria Railway Co. consists of 3682 cars, including 3,100 odd goods cars. As South Manchuria and the adjacent country is opened up, a natural increase in the goods for conveyance has followed and at the height of the produce season, the traffic is far heavier than the Company can cope with. Hitherto the Company's Management has had other more urgent

claims to satisfy, and has had little to spare for rolling stock.

Now that the construction of the Anshan Steel Works has been taken up in good earnest, the burden on the carrying capacity of the Line has increased in the matter of stone, cement, and the building material for the Works, the railway sidings, the Works Colony, etc. All the same time there are tale and pig iron put out in an increasing quantity by the Penchiu Colliery & Mining Co., and the other mineral products to reckon with. The South Manchuria Sugar Refining Co. has entered into a contract with the Railway Company for the transportation of beets. As the work on the Shihpingkai-Chengchiatun Railway progresses, the Railway Company is bound to supply it with rolling stock to enable it to keep construction trains in operation.

There is still another contingency to be faced. When the proposed amalgamation of the Chosen Railway with the S. M. R. Lines takes a concrete shape, more goods cars may have to be sent to Chosen as the volume of traffic increases. Even now as many as over 300 cars are set aside for carrying Fushun Coal to Chosen. Under all these pressing circumstances, the Management has drafted a plan to construct about 1000 new goods cars and to include the necessary amount in the next year's estimates. The manufacturing capacity of the Railway Workshops must be considerably increased.

Japanese Road to be Railway Feeder.—To improve the means of travel between Yokohama and Tokyo, which district is fast gaining in importance as a manufacturing centre, Governor Ariyoshi proposes making a wide road between Kanagawa and Shinagawa connecting there two important railway shipping powers. Whether the present road is to be widened or a new road cut is not yet decided and the need of the midway towns and villages must be consulted. The cost is definitely fixed as ¥3,000,000. A seeding of ¥800,000 over the first estimates. Half of the sum is to be defrayed by the Government and the remainder by Kanagawa-ken and Tokyo-fu. It is reported that the Home Minister has unofficially sanctioned the proposals. Similar improvements are badly needed between Kobe and Osaka.

Shanghai Tramways.—The following is the Traffic Return of the Shanghai Tramways (Foreign Settlement) for June, 1917, and for 6 months ended June 30th, 1917, with figures for the corresponding periods last year:—

	June, 1917	June, 1916
Gross Receipts	\$129,668.58	\$125,156.12
Loss by currency depreciation	28,846.86	33,287.14
Effective Receipts	\$100,821.72	\$91,868.98
Percentage of loss by currency depreciation	23.70	28.39
Car Miles Run	342,784	305,375
Passengers carried	5,937,399	5,593,447
	6 Months ended 30th June, 1917	6 Months ended 30th June, 1916
Gross Receipts	\$784,518.25	\$725,824.17
Loss by currency depreciation	174,225.04	191,019.29
Effective Receipts	\$610,293.16	\$534,804.88

Percentage of loss by currency deprecia- tion	23.53	27.97
Car Miles run	2,010,924	1,786,601
Passengers carried ...	35,416,751	32,131,480

SHIPPING

Record Price for Japanese Ship.—A ship, of 3,500 tons, built at the Osaka Iron Works has been sold to the Dairen Steamship Company at 680 yen per ton, the highest price yet paid for a vessel in Japan. This is a rise of 60 yen per ton, compared with the previous record transaction, made at the Toba Dockyard several weeks ago.

FINANCE

Japanese Borneo Company.—The boom in industrial circles in Japan is not limited to enterprises in the country alone. Many new undertakings have been established abroad and another one is now being promoted in Borneo under the name of the Borneo Products Company.

The company is being promoted by a certain Mr. Y. Ando, formerly departmental head of the Tokyo Municipal Electric Bureau. He first started experimental planting of cotton and has further continued his experiments in tobacco, coconut, and rubber plantations. His friends in Japan are raising a capital of 1,000,000 yen in 20,000 shares to cultivate cotton, tobacco, rubber and coconuts on the Island of Borneo. An area of 13,000 acres of land will be purchased, 300 acres of which are planted with rubber trees seven-years old. The promoters assure intending shareholders that a reserve of 30 per cent. of the profits can be made every term from the first year. A dividend of 10 per cent. will be made in the first year gradually increased annually and at the end of the sixth year a dividend of 60 per cent. is expected to be made.

Bullion from U.S. to Japan.—A consignment of gold from America to the Bank of Japan, the Mitsui Bank, and others totaling 8,500,000 yen, arrived at Yokohama on June 22, by the N.Y.K. steamer Inaba Maru. Another consignment from America to the Bank of Japan, the Mitsui Bank and the Sumitomo Bank, worth 10,460,000 yen reached Yokohama the same day by the T. K. K. liner Korea Maru. This ship also had silver bullion worth 930,000 yen for Shanghai.

Japanese Investments Capital.—According to the compilations of the Mitsui Bank the total amount of capital utilized in the establishments of new enterprises and expansions of the already established firms in 1916-1917 was 750,871,500 yen which, when compared to the previous year, was an increase of 368,869,000 yen and over the year before last the enormous increase of 557,515,600. The amount invested in different lines was as follows:

	New Expansions Total (Unit: Y. 1,000)		
Banking	21,650	38,869	105,519
Trust & Finan. ...	32,855	10,500	43,355
Spinning	53,270	14,205	67,475
Electric	23,835	21,160	44,995
Gas	100	35	135
Mining	48,447	5,750	54,197
Marine Products...	1,150	2,050	3,200
Railway and Trams	12,350	24,150	36,500
Marine Trans. ...	6,500	9,050	15,500
Insurance	13,500	1,000	14,500

Warehouse	750	—	750
Manufacturing Industry	192,274	100,381	292,656
Commercial & Others	29,554	42,485	72,039
Total	436,236	314,635	750,871

Cement Company Increases Capital.—The Asano Cement Manufacturing Company has held an extraordinary general meeting of its shareholders and approved the proposal for increasing its capital from 7,180,000 yen to 15,000,000 yen alternations in its articles of association also were approved. Out of a total of 156,400 new shares, 143,400 will be distributed among the old shareholders.

MINES AND METALS

Japanese to aid Chinese Develop Mines.—Announcement of a co-operative project between Chinese and Japanese capital to develop Chinese largest iron and steel enterprises has been made by Mr. Keiichiro Yasukawa. He has stated that a company has been formed with Y10,000,000 capital, one-half of which is subscribed by Chinese and the other half by himself, the Chinese parties interested being in control of the celebrated Hanyehping Works. The new company has entered into a contract with the Hanyehping Company to furnish a large fixed amount of pig iron which will be transported to Japan, where the new company will put up large steel works at Kurosaki, a small town on Hakata Bay, in Kyushu.

This is an enterprise of international importance as it will utilize the wonderful productive capacity of the Hanyehping Iron Works at a low cost and will combine with it the erection and manufacture of iron and steel products to be produced in work at Kyushu, installed with the most modern and up to date plant. It gives to Japan certain fixed advantages, while no doubt the new plant proposed in Japan will prove remunerative to the particular Chinese investors who, it is understood, are members of the Sheng family.

It will be recalled that Sheng Kun Pao was the last Minister of Communications under the Manchu regime in China. The opposition to his construction work in certain provinces in China was the direct cause of the first revolution which led to the downfall of the Manchu dynasty. Sheng Kun Pao fled to Japan. As an old time Manchu official he was wealthy. He held controlling interests in the Hanyehping Iron works in the China Merchants' Transportation Company and other profitable concerns. He borrowed liberally on these securities when in Japan and Japanese banks, it is said, have invested many millions in prior lien securities and mortgages of the Hanyehping Iron Works.

Mr. Yasukawa is one of the biggest figures in Japan's mining industry. His start in the coal mining business was a most humble one, but his business ability and his wonderful energy won him recognition and to day he stands as one of the most enterprising men in his line. He is the owner of several big coal mines in the famous Kyushu fields. Of late he has extended the scope of his enterprises, embracing many other lines, including banking. At his own expense he has established a technical college at Tobata, Fukuoka prefecture. He is also a member of Parliament. Originally his plan was to manufacture steel in China and export it to Japan. The duty on steel, however, is Y10 per ton while on pig iron it is but Y1.40 per ton. For this reason it was decided to manufacture in Japan.

During the first week of October 1916 a provisional contract was signed between the Hanyehping shareholders and Mr. Yasukawa. On the basis of this provisional agreement

a new company was planned, under the name of the Kyushu Steel Works, a joint enterprise with a capital of Y10,000,000, equally divided between Japanese and Chinese. The promoters planned to start work at once on the new plant, but delay was due to protracted negotiations with the Imperial Japanese Government Steel Works over the proportional share of pig iron to be delivered. The amount of pig iron to be produced will be between 450,000 and 500,000 tons. The Kyushu Steel Works will obtain, with consent of the Government Works, a supply of 60,000 tons per year. With this amount of raw material guaranteed at an advantageous rate, the co-operative enterprise has now been formally inaugurated and work on the new plant will commence immediately. This represents the first co-operative enterprise of Chinese and Japanese capital, equally divided, on Japanese soil. It not only purchases the supplies from China, but gives the Chinese mining company a half interest in the new enterprise in Japan.

Titanium Deposit Discovered in Korea.—The discovery of a titanium deposit is reported from Chosen, where the Government-General has been engaged for some time in the investigation of the mineral resources of the peninsula and especially in the collection of samples of tungsten ore produced in the colony. While examining the various samples of tungsten ore, experts discovered a vein of titanium, a rare mineral almost solely produced in the United States. The deposit is located in a mountain district of Kanguon-To, not very distant from Seoul. It is quite rich and in the opinion of the experts can furnish ample supplies for industrial purposes. Many uses have been discovered in the United States for this mineral. By mixing it with steel the hardness of steel is wonderfully increased. Thus manufacturers of rails, cutlery, springs, and other articles have found it an almost indispensable material for them. It has also been used as an ingredient of paints. In Japan the mineral has been discovered several times but not in a large deposit available for industrial purposes. It is said that the present discovery in Chosen will prove a great help for industrial workers, enabling them to produce certain kinds of steel materials now imported from America.

Exploiting Manchuria's Mineral Resources.—Big enterprises are being started by the Kuhara Mining Company in Manchuria to exploit the mineral resources of the Northern provinces, which will be investigated by experts from a laboratory the company has opened in Mukden. Copper veins in the Northern provinces are the principal objective of the company. Already, according to a report to hand, the company has a mine near Shanhaikwan under its control, which will, it is reported, prove one of the biggest assets of the concern. In Kirin, it is also reported, the company has taken over the control of a mine at Chiapikau, which produces not only copper but gold. In that part of Manchuria the Kuhara Mining Company has already secured the co-operation of Chinese business men which is looked upon as a good move on the part of the Kuhara Mining Company, as it will help the company in promoting new enterprises in Manchuria.

Seoul Mining Company.—During June 19,484 tons of ore from the Suan Mine and Tul Mi Chung Mine were treated from which there was recovered Yen 232,236.54. From 50 tons of high grade Kung Kol ore sent to the Smelter a receipt of Yen 20,000 has been received.

During May 21,462 tons of ore were treated from which there was recovered Yen 307,276.44. The Tong Ahm Prospect has now passed out of the "Prospect Class" and is added to the other Mines on the Concession. To fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Mr.

A. H. Collbran, the Company's Consulting Engineer, Mr. A. R. Weigall, has acceded to the request of the Board of Directors and is discharging the duties of the General Manager.

Kuchengtzu Mine Sold.—It is reported that the mining zone at Kuchengtzu (Fushun), which was owned by a Chinese concern (the Junhsing Co.), has been sold to a Japanese of Mukden, who then resold it to a Tokyo capitalist for ¥110,000 who has transferred it to the Nansho Yoko, Tokyo, Mr. G. Imaoka, proprietor. He will visit Kuchengtzu before long. Until that time the colliery will be left to the present manager to continue its working.

Big Dividend from Hokkaido Steel Works.—The Hokkaido (Japan) Iron Smelting Company distributed a dividend of 28 per cent per annum at its semi-annual meeting.

To Have own Supply of Ore.—The Japan Steel Tubing Company is buying up various mines for the purpose of making its supply of raw materials secure from the fluctuations in the world market. Already four mines have been taken over, while applications for prospecting have been filed with the Government for fourteen other mines.

Lead Tube Company to Expand.—The Takai Lead Tube Company has had a large business recently and with the present capital of 300,000 yen the firm is unable to expand its operations. For this reason the directors have brought up the question of increasing the capital to 1,000,000 yen with an addition of 14,000 shares. One thousand shares will be presented to the directors as bonus for their efficient management, 9,000 shares will be allotted at the rate of $1\frac{1}{2}$ to one of the old shares. The remaining 4,000 shares will be placed on the market for subscription.

Gold Mining Operations in Korea.

Gold mining is of very ancient origin in Korea, going back probably before the Christian era. This branch of mining, however, was entirely alluvial, and it has been overshadowed of late by the development of lode mining under modern conditions. The first concession to foreign engineers was the Morse concession in 1895. Subsequently, concessions were granted to British, German, French, Russian, Japanese, and Italian representatives.

The development of production in recent years has been rapid. In 1895 the output first passed the \$5,000,000 mark, while in 1913 it was valued at \$5,175,000, in 1914, \$5,115,000, and last year it attained the record yield of \$6,145,000.

The following is a short account of the leading mines now operating in Korea, summarised from an address by Mr. E. W. Mills before the Korean Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Un-san Concession.—The Un-san mines are situated in North Pyeng-an, about forty kilometres south of the Yalu river. This concession is being worked by the Oriental Consolidated Mining Co., an American company, which has been highly successful in its operations in this district from the beginning.

Operations were first started at Chittaballie, and a 20-stamp mill was placed in operation in 1897. This mill was the pioneer of the modern stamp mills in Korea. Before the mine was abandoned, in 1905, it had produced 152,632 tons of ore, valued at 3,036,952 yen. In 1899 a 40-stamp mill was erected at Tabowie, and in 1907 was enlarged to 80 stamps. To June 30, 1915, this mine has produced 1,226,859 tons of ore, valued at 15,918,755 yen. A 20-stamp mill was erected at Kuk-han-dong in 1900. It was increased

to 40 stamps in 1905. This mine was closed down on January 15, 1915, after having produced 551,892 tons of ore, valued at 4,788,182 yen. In 1902 a 40-stamp mill was placed in operation at Maibong. To June 30, 1915, 412,071 tons of ore, valued at 5,967,274 yen have been produced. In 1903 an 80-stamp mill was erected at Taracol. To June 30, 1915, this mine has produced 1,173,208 tons of ore, valued at 13,749,526 yen. There are 16 batteries of five stamps each, and 32 vanners of the Frue type. The daily capacity of this mill is about 350 tons in twenty-four hours. In 1908 a 10-stamp mill was placed in operation at Candlestick. From this mine 43,998 tons of ore, valued at 999,591 yen, have been produced up to June 30, 1915.

As may be seen from the foregoing, the growth and development of this concession has been exceedingly satisfactory. On July 1, 1915, a total of 210 stamps was in operation at the following mines: Tabowie, 80 stamps; Taracol, 80 stamps; Maibong, 40 stamps; E. Candlestick, 10 stamps. The tonnage of ore crushed for the year ending December 31, 1915, was 295,379 tons, valued at 3,758,135 yen. From this ore, gold in bullion and concentrates was recovered to the value of 3,228,941 yen. The total tonnage of ore produced from the various mines since 1897 to December 31, 1915, has been 3,986,772 tons, valued at 49,568,632 yen. The first dividend of 5% was paid in 1903. Since that time to July 1, 1915, the total dividends have amounted to 15%, of a total of 12,871,550 yen.

Su-an Concession.—The Su-an mines are situated some 100 kilometres farther south, about the middle of South Pyeng-an, some kilometres from Chin-nam-po, while the Chik-san mines are situated about the same distance south again in the Province of Kyong-Ki, adjacent to Nam-yang Bay. This British concession is held by the Korea Syndicate, Limited, of London, but is being operated by the Seoul Mining Co. This concession is being developed with highly successful results. Although not as old as the Un-san concession, its tonnage and output are increasing yearly. It shows promise of eventually becoming the largest producer in Korea. The first stamp mill of 20 stamps was placed in operation in the latter part of 1909 at the Su-an mine. This mine developed satisfactorily, and the mill was increased to 40 stamps in the autumn of 1911. During the past three years a larger mine than the Su-an mine has been developed at Tul-mi-chung, about six miles south of Hol-kol. A reduction plant, the pioneer of its kind in Korea, was placed in operation late in September, 1915. This plant has a rated capacity of 350 tons in 24 hours, and is the first one in Korea to use Hardinge conical ball and pebble mills, in place of gravity stamps, for crushing and grinding the ore. Both plants also employ the oil flotation process for the recovery of concentrate. It is expected that the production of gold from the Su-an concession for 1916 will approximate a total of 2,500,000 yen. For the year ended December 31, 1915, the Su-an concession produced 108,078 tons of ore, valued at 1,789,224 yen. The gold production for the same period amounted to 1,435,041 yen. Since the date of the commencement of milling operations in 1900 to January 1, 1916, the Su-an concession has produced 433,361 tons of ore, valued at 7,945,328 yen, with a total gold production of 6,566,244 yen. The dividends for the same period have amounted to a total of 2,180,087.50 yen, or a total of 275%.

Chik-san Concession.—This concession was operated intermittently by the concessionaires, Shibusawa-Asano Mining Partnership on a small scale until 1906. In this year American partners were admitted, and in 1907 a small stamp mill was placed in operation. In 1911 a reorganization took place, whereby the control of the concession rights was taken over by an American company, the Chiksan Mining Co. During the Japanese regime considerable work was done on the placer deposits, and a small profit was made.

Although no exact figures are available, it is probable that the alluvial gold production during this time amounted to over 300,000 yen. For the year ended December 31, 1915, the production of gold from this concession was 933,261 yen. It is estimated that the Chik-san concession has produced 3,199,073 yen in gold, and has treated 192,144 tons of ore during the period from February, 1908, to January 1, 1916. This concession has now reached the dividend-paying stage, and is being operated successfully.

The present company has proved the existence of a large acreage of ground containing sufficient gold to warrant the installation of a gold dredge at Sei-go-ri, which was worked earlier under the supervision of the Japanese concessionaires. The order has been placed for this dredge, and it is expected that it will be in operation before the end of 1916. Chik-san will, therefore, have the distinction of starting the first gold dredge in Korea. The operation of this gold dredge, in conjunction with the present mill of 40 stamps, should result in showing a considerable increase in the gold production for 1916 and for several succeeding years.

Japanese Enterprises.—Under government encouragement an important combination was formed in recent years known as the Furukawa Partnership Co., which holds some 15,000 acres in the Koo-Sung district, North Pyeng-an. The chief interests comprised are those of Messrs. Furukawa, Asona, and Kuhara. In co-operation with his company, the Kuhara Mining Co., of Osaka, lately completed a smelter at Chin-nam-po designed primarily to treat gold-copper ores, more especially the concentrates, from the Su-an mines.

Government Mines.—The Japanese Government has itself retained a number of gold prospects for experimental working in different districts.

In all something like 50,000 Koreans and several thousand Chinese and Japanese are now dependent upon the foreign companies for their livelihood. The author states Japanese authorities are willing to assist foreign mining companies in every possible way. After the occupation of Korea mining regulations were issued in 1916, with further amendments in 1907 and 1908, and a further revision is expected to be published shortly. Henceforth it is provided that "none can enjoy mining rights other than subjects of the Empire or juridical persons organized in accordance with the laws and ordinances of the Empire." It is stated, however, that foreigners who already possess mining rights will not be affected by the revision either now or in the future.

TRADE AND COMMERCE

Hankow Tea Shipments.—According to the trade statistics issued by the British Chamber of Commerce at Hankow on June 6 the business reported between May 31 and June 5 showed settlements of 44,885 half chests as against 131,453 half chests in 1916. The arrivals of Hankow tea to date were 143,445 half chests as against 238,650 half chests to June 7, 1916, and of Kiukiang tea 141,541 half chests as against 171,022 half chests. The exports to June 7, 1917, to Russia in Asia were 1,497,452 lbs., and to Russia in Europe 15,587 lbs., as against 1,588,447 lbs., and 343,215 lbs. in 1916.

Japan's Tea Crop Decreases.—In Shizuoka the season's tea trade is becoming more and more active as the picking of the first crop is being finished. According to the Japanese Tea Manufacturers' Associations on June 1, the first crop is somewhat unfavorable. In

Saitama prefecture the most favorable estimate shows a decrease of more than 10 per cent.

The most encouraging feature is the fine quality of the crop.

America's new tax on tea is not much feared. The tea men have lately received an encouraging report from New York, according to which the sale of tea will not decrease because of the tax.

Peanut Industry of China.—Peanuts are not indigenous to China, having been introduced some time previous to the eighteenth century says a report by American Consul General Thos. Sammons on this valuable oil seed. They are now grown in all parts of the country, except the higher regions.

Chinese peanuts are said to average 46 per cent oil. The oil is expressed and exported in large quantities for use in cooking, as substitute for olive oil, and largely in the manufacture of soap. The value of peanut oil exported in 1915 exceeded by more than 50 per cent the value of all peanuts shipped. After the extraction of the oil the product remaining is formed into cakes which are used as fodder, poultry feed, or fertilizer. A large part of the peanuts exported to Europe is used in the manufacture of oil and soap.

The greater part of the peanuts of China used commercially come from the Provinces of Shantung, Honan, and Chihli. Shantung peanuts are ordinarily larger in size, while those from Honan and Chihli are said to be somewhat richer in oil and consequently usually bring better prices.

Prior to the war, the port of Kiaochow (Tsingtau) held first place among China's ports in exports of both peanuts and peanut oil, shipping, 1913, 44 per cent of all the peanuts exported and 43 per cent of peanut oil. Since then its trade has been diverted largely to Chefoo, Hankow, and Shanghai.

Customs returns show Tientsin and Chinkiang as the principal export ports for peanuts in the shell. Practically all of these shipments were made, however, to other Chinese ports and Hongkong for transshipment and to Pacific port of Russia. Of peanut kernels, Hankow and Shanghai shipped 75 per cent of the total, the amounts from the two ports being about the same. Those exported from Hankow, however, all went to other Chinese ports, principally to Shanghai, whence they were largely transshipped abroad.

On account of its accessibility to the centers of production and its shipping facilities, Shanghai is the natural port for ocean shipments of peanuts. The peanut season begins about the end of November and continues to June or July. When the crops are gathered, the peanuts are stored in godowns in the vicinity, whence they are shipped as required. No attempt is made to "cure" the peanuts; that is, they are not subjected to any treatment to hasten their hardening, this being left to nature. They soon lose their excess moisture in storage and it is generally safe to make shipments by the middle of December. It is said that peanuts are likely to mold en route if, when shipped, they contain more than 8 per cent moisture. Shipments to America of shelled peanuts are sometimes made in 100-pound sacks, to meet the requirements of the importer. It is believed that the best package for the ocean voyage is the 2½-pound gunny, which holds about 188 pounds of peanuts.

The godown of a large Shanghai dealer was visited, when 300 tons of shelled peanuts were being prepared for shipment. These had arrived from Shantung Province, packed in used 2½-pound gunnies, each containing about 188 pounds of peanuts. The sacks were being emptied on the floor and shoveled therefrom into circular bamboo sieves about 4 feet in diameter suspended by their centers from the ceiling. A few shakes of the sifter disposed of most of the shriveled and small peanuts

and the dirt and stones. The remaining larger peanuts were then spread out on tables around which 100 women were engaged in the final hand sorting, removing any remaining shriveled peanuts, broken, and skinned peanuts, shells, etc., that had not passed through the sieve. The siftings were also re-sorted and the small, although perfect, peanuts removed and added to the peanuts intended for shipment. These were packed in new 2½-pound gunny sacks, the old sacks being destined for return to Shantung for future similar use. The net result of all this work was a nice lot of peanuts running about 34 to 36 to the ounce. The shriveled and discarded peanuts were to be disposed of to oil mills. Even the shriveled peanuts are rich in oil.

The firm above referred to reports that it has never had a claim, in all its shipments of peanuts, on account of their arriving in a moldy condition. Other shippers have been less fortunate. Instances are recorded of heavy losses sustained by shippers through mold. Sometimes the mold is confined to the outer layers of peanuts, in other cases it permeates the whole sack. The disposition made of such damaged peanuts rests with the customs authorities. The loss naturally falls on the shippers. However, the purchaser has usually already paid for the peanuts through letters of credit, and it is necessary to make claim on the shipper in order to recover the amount paid. The importance of dealing with thoroughly responsible firms is therefore apparent. Properly cured peanuts, properly stored aboard ship, should stand the ocean voyage without deteriorating.

In 1913, the latest year of normal conditions, the Chinese Maritime Customs record a total export abroad of 68,160 tons of peanuts, including both shelled and unshelled. Of these about 35 per cent went to France, 25 per cent to Hongkong, mostly for transshipment to other points, 15 per cent to the Netherlands, and 10 per cent to Germany. Italy, Great Britain, Austria, and Russia received the greater part of the remaining 15 per cent. Only 437 tons were shipped to the United States.

The volume of exports in 1914 was about the same as the year before, destinations differing materially as a result of the war. But in 1915 there was a reduction of more than 50 per cent in exports, the customs returns recording shipments during that year of only 19,773 tons unshelled and 12,862 tons of shelled peanuts, a total of 32,635 tons, against 68,160 tons in 1913. Of the peanuts shipped in 1915, Hongkong received nearly 50 per cent, Russia in Asia coming next with 16 per cent, while Great Britain, France, Japan, and the United States followed in the order named. The United States imported 2,050 tons.

The falling off in gross shipments of peanuts in 1915 was due primarily to shortage of tonnage and high freight rates, which would naturally operate as a bar to the shipment of inexpensive, bulky products. The same conditions have existed during a greater part of the present year, although there was an interval of several months when freight rates were nearly normal and there was no dearth of tonnage. At present, conditions are about as bad as they have been at any stage since the war began.

Shelled peanuts have recently been landed on the Pacific coast of the United States at 5 cents a pound (\$112 per ton). Since then freights have advanced and so have exchange rates, the two factors operating to make the cost prohibitive, even if transportation companies, with the present dearth of tonnage, could be induced to accept peanut cargo. Under normal conditions the price of peanuts c. i. f. a Pacific port would be about \$70 per ton. It is doubtful if any exporter would be willing to quote double that price at present, but with the return of near-normal conditions, China should not be overlooked by the American dealer as an available source of supply for an excellent peanut.

CHEMICALS

Japanese Dynamite Factory.—The Japan Explosive Manufacturing Company has just completed a mill at Atsusa, Yamaguchi prefecture, where the company began operations June 3. The company's output will be chiefly dynamite for use in mines, the annual yield being 1,000,000 kilos.

New Water Gas System.—In the proposed extension of the Water Gas Producer Factory, Fushun Collieries, the Management has adopted the Lymm system, and the patent rights for Manchuria have been purchased by the S. M. R. Co. for Y. 60,000. It is said that the new system is a great improvement on other processes, yielding a greater percentage of sulphate of ammonia and having several other advantages.

ELECTRICITY

Japanese Electric Apparatus Co.—The Toyo Electric Industry Company projected by Mr. J. Odaka and several other business men for the purpose of turning out electric apparatus and lamps, soon will complete its organization. The company will have its head office in Nagoya and a branch in Tokyo. The promoters claim that the company will be able to distribute 20 per cent dividends immediately after its organization, the annual production of lamps being 500,000.

Japan Developing Water Power.—With the development of electric enterprises in Japan applications for the utilization of water power have increased rapidly of late. According to the Department of Communications, for the first four months of this year 22 applications were examined and granted by the Government. The power of the plants to be established by those applicants will be 10,111 horse power.

Tramway Floats Loan.—The Keihan Electric Tramway Company has signed an agreement with a group of Osaka brokers for the flotation of a loan of 2,000,000 yen. The debentures will be marketed at 98 per cent, bearing interest at 6 per cent per annum. The proceeds of the loan will be used by the company in redeeming maturing obligations.

POPULATION

Japan's New Census Result.—The Japanese Home Office has made public the results of its investigation of the population of Japan at the end of 1915. The report states that the total population of Japan proper was 57,442,177.

The results of the examination of physique of new recruits eligible of military service for this year which has been carried out recently in Tokyo, according to an officer in charge of the task, have been unsatisfactory as compared with last year. Students and factory operatives stand the lowest in regard to the condition of their constitution. This is sufficiently accounted for by the unequal balance of the labour of study and the physical exercise on the part of the students, and by the practice of the factory owners now to employ any operative regardless of his physical condition so long as he is a skilled hand in his own calling. There is a decrease in the number of those afflicted with eye affections.

But the greatest number of deficiencies have been found to be suffering more or less from affections of their respiratory organs.